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The Shape of Things

AUTOMOBILE MANUFACTURERS MAY WELL be wondering whether the union that staged the riotous free-for-all at Atlantic City last week is the same union that held its lines solidly for 112 days in the Battle of General Motors. Reading the communiqués, they learned that, over the opposition of C. I. O. President Philip Murray, Walter P. Reuther won the presidency of the union by a margin of 124 votes out of 8,000; that, over his opposition, one of the two vice-presidencies went to his rival, R. J. Thomas, president for the past eight years, and the other to Richard T. Leonard, who squeaked in by less than 50 votes; and that in administering the union Reuther will thus have a slim majority of the membership with him and a coalition of subordinate officials theoretically against him. But the motor magnates should not take too much comfort from these proceedings. In the first place, they already know Reuther as a shrewder, more imaginative, and more dynamic man to deal with than his predecessor, a new type of labor leader, fully alert to the political and social currents of the country. The opposing coalition, moreover, is not likely to last long; it already shows signs of cracking at the seams. Finally, most labor observers believe that Murray will have no trouble in patching up relations with Reuther, whose elevation to the executive board of the C. I. O. will prove embarrassing primarily to those who would have that organization serve the special interests of the Communist Party. All in all, we believe the labor movement, as well as Walter Reuther, is to be congratulated on the outcome at Atlantic City.

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FRANCE, "A NATION TWICE RUINED IN thirty years," as Léon Blum has just reminded us, is seeking our aid in regaining its economic health. As special emissary of the French government, M. Blum has given the Administration in Washington a frank and graphic account of French difficulties. He has outlined the program for reconstruction which his country is following and has stressed the great efforts which Frenchmen have made since liberation to speed recovery and the great sacrifices which are currently being accepted in order to increase national productivity. Now Jean Monnet, as head of the French financial delegation, is pre-

sending detailed arguments in support of a loan to France to Treasury and State Department officials. Apparently he is not asking for a specified amount but has pointed out that France cannot hope to achieve a balance of payments in international transactions before 1950, and will only be able to do so then if in the meantime it has increased production 10 per cent or more above the 1929 level. To reach that goal French industry must be re-equipped and modernized by the purchase of American machinery, and vast quantities of raw materials must be imported. Altogether, the French experts estimate, foreign purchases amounting to \$11 billion will be needed during the next five years—a considerably greater sum than can be covered by the proceeds of exports and existing French reserves of gold and foreign exchange. Probably as much as \$2½ billion will be required to fill the gap, while the most that can be offered, since the Administration is unwilling to go to Congress for authorization of a special loan, is about \$1 billion from the resources of the Export-Import Bank. This sum, however, would tide France over the next eighteen months and allow time for negotiation of a reconstruction loan from the new World Bank.

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JAPAN IS TO HAVE AN ELECTION NEXT week, but the returns will not necessarily reflect the country's true sentiments even though the electorate will be more than doubled and women will vote for the first time. Reactionary politicians ensconced in the misnamed Progressive and Liberal parties have enjoyed great advantages. Well financed and well organized, they have been able to contest nearly twice as many seats as the Communists and Socialists; the elections are being held under

IN NEXT WEEK'S *NATION*

A Special Supplement

SPAIN'S CASE BEFORE THE UNO

ALSO a cabled article by J. Alvarez del Vayo reporting on the recent Congress of French Socialists.

IN subsequent issues The Nation will publish Del Vayo's interviews with François Billoux, Minister of Reconstruction, "The Rebuilding of France," and Edouard Herriot, "The Tragedy of Liberalism."

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Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Washington Editor Literary Editor
J. King Gordon I. F. Stone Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance

Assistant Managing Editors: Estella Draper, Robert Harvey

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. Assistant Literary Editor:
Caroline Whiting. Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

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the supervision of the Shidehara government, which has winked at bribery and coercion by reactionary candidates and ignored their brazen attacks on the United States and their praise of Japan's warlike virtues. The Socialists and Communists have been hampered by lack of funds and, outside of the larger cities, by inadequate organization due to long suppression. They have also been harassed by the police force, which was reshuffled but left virtually unpurged, and in which the disbanded "thought police" continue their intimidation under the guise of "food inspectors" or "economic police." If Japan elects a substantial number of genuine anti-fascists, it will be a real tribute to the people's political courage.

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BERNARD BARUCH'S STATEMENT ON PRICES and wages was a curious hodge-podge of economic horse sense and starry-eyed political hokum. Although supporting extension of the price-control act, he criticized subsidies, and played completely into the hands of the opposition by declaring that strict enforcement of price control might bring about "an economic and social revolution." His warning against further tax reductions showed a basic understanding of economics, but he was clearly playing for the grandstand when he insisted that we "stop bunking the public by saying that wage increases can be granted without increases in price levels." His plea for the groups caught between the millstones—clerks, teachers, government employees, and pensioners—undoubtedly struck a responsible chord in the hearts of millions throughout the country, but his suggestions for aiding these workers were unfortunately far less specific than those for aiding business. Mr. Baruch might be excused for his somewhat sentimental confusion on these issues if he had not, with apparent naivete, asked that strikes be outlawed and foreign loans be suspended "until production warrants it." Thus while he would remove as many restrictions on industry as possible in order to save free enterprise, he would initiate a system of labor controls which the country would not accept even in war time. And in concentrating on domestic recovery, he ignored the rehabilitation of the world economy on which both peace and prosperity depend.

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BRITAIN HAS HAD A NATIONAL HEALTH insurance system for over thirty years, but its scope has been limited. Now the Labor government has introduced a really comprehensive National Health Service bill which provides for everybody. Nobody will be compelled to use the service, but for all who do there will be absolutely free medical, surgical, and dental care, hospitalization, treatment in specialized clinics, home nursing, medicines, and even the provision of such appliances as eyeglasses. Patients will be allowed to choose their own doctors from among those joining the service; doc-

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Big States, Little Men

BY KING GORDON

Hunter College, New York, March 29

THE debate of the first week of the Security Council meetings has emphasized the fact that peace is slow a-borning. Almost a year ago a New York Herald Tribune editorial described the opening of the San Francisco conference under "the vast overriding shadow—the shadow of total war." Then the Germans were still battling the Russians in the streets and subways of Berlin, the R. A. F. had just blasted Berchtesgaden, and the French First and the American Third and Seventh armies were driving across Bavaria. Hiroshima and Nagasaki were still three and a half months ahead. Today the two last rows, center, in the Hunter College auditorium were reserved for disabled veterans. What was happening here was what they had been fighting for. Or was it?

The sessions provided no mighty cause for hope, but at least they furnished some evidence of an international authority rooted in justice. The authority was not without question nor the justice without blemish. And the cynics are having their day. The Daily Worker, of course, views all the non-Russian delegates, with the exception of St. Oscar Lange, as anti-Soviet conspirators. Others, not on the party line, listen skeptically to the moral protestations of Messrs. Byrnes and Cadogan and note with interest that the crude word "oil" never stains their diplomatic parlance. They question, in fact, whether the United Nations will ever transcend the power politics of the states that make up the organization. And they find grounds for their skepticism in Byrnes's implacability as much as in Gromyko's speciousness.

There are reasons, however, to believe that some progress in international understanding was made last week and that more could have been made had the delegates shown larger imagination and more courage. It is even possible that the crisis itself might have been avoided without damage to the UNO's charter. For to those who followed the debate for the two crucial days it was quite apparent that Gromyko did not want a showdown even after he had placed a most unparliamentary chip on his shoulder.

At the outset Byrnes was on completely solid ground when he insisted on the right of the Iranian ambassador to appear before the Council. To have accepted Gromyko's unilateral assurance that all went well in Iran and that "the so-called Iranian question" was no fit subject for the Council would have been a flat denial of the right of any small nation to appeal. Even to have accepted Gromyko's request for delay until April 10 would have set a dangerous precedent unless it had been clearly shown why such postponement was desirable. Gromyko's argument could have persuaded no disinterested member

ctors may take private patients, though if the ideals of the bill are fully realized and medical attention of a quality hitherto enjoyed only by the well-to-do made available to all, there are not likely to be many private patients. Parliament may amend the bill in some details, but it will undoubtedly pass, for not only has it the enthusiastic support of the large Labor majority but it has been fully endorsed in principle by the other parties.

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THE ONE STRONG SOURCE OF OPPOSITION IS the conservative British Medical Association, which has even threatened to boycott the program. Just as in this country, the hierarchy of the profession is intent on retaining a system which offers glittering prizes to a few doctors while leaving the majority underpaid, which gives priority to the health of the well-to-do while neglecting that of the mass of the population. But in Britain the medical diehards are virtually licked. Here, as Senator Murray reminds us on another page, they are putting up an unscrupulous and unrelenting fight to defeat the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, which authorizes a scheme of national health insurance considerably more modest than the British plan. The bill is favored by public opinion, but it may well be lost unless the consumers of medical services organize intensively to offset the pressure that the American Medical Association and the drug manufacturers are exerting on Congress.

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THE WAVE OF PROTESTS THAT GREETED THE government's announcement of a ban on unrestricted non-residential construction in themselves gave strong evidence of the need for this move. It is estimated that non-residential construction for the country as a whole might have reached \$5,000,000,000 if no restrictions had been imposed. Since the supply of building materials and labor will permit no more than \$7,500,000,000 in new construction and the minimum residential goal is \$5,000,000,000, a drastic cut was obviously required. This will not mean that all non-residential building must be suspended but it does mean that the area review committees will have to consider each project and set up a system of priorities based on local conditions. Householders are precluded from making drastic alterations or additions to their homes, but will be permitted to make repairs costing no more than \$400. Painful though these restrictions are, they are clearly necessary if there is to be an adequate supply of building materials for veterans' homes. However, restrictions will not build houses. Unless the Senate restores the essential provisions of the Patman housing bill, with subsidies for building materials and price ceilings on old as well as on new homes, veterans will not get houses at prices they can afford to pay.

of the Council or the audience. In fact, in this debate the Soviet delegate appeared to be not so much a member of the Security Council with full powers of deliberation and decision as an emissary from the Kremlin who had brought a message and was waiting for an answer.

Byrnes, with less reason, appeared equally inflexible and showed no inclination to make it easier for a man who, acting on narrow directives, was obviously in a tough spot. Byrnes showed his stubbornness by browbeating the mild Chinese chairman, deftly sidetracking the amendment of the not so mild Australian, and piloting his favored motion through to a nine-to-two vote. He seemed much more intent on asserting the leadership of the United States as over against the world than using that leadership, which nobody challenged, to advance world understanding. It was strange last Friday to hear the delegates praising with remarkable unanimity the "statesmanlike" proposal of the United States Secretary of State when they had given the brush-off on Wednesday to substantially the same proposal formulated by the Australian Hodgson. I do not know whether Gromyko would have accepted Hodgson's motion to request more information in writing from both Russia and Iran: certainly it appeared a reasonable compromise at the time and could have been carried with no loss of prestige to the UNO or of face to the Soviet Union.

It was a great pity that the Hodgson motion was never put. The procedural anarchy that characterized the sessions cannot be too strongly condemned. The utter confusion that prevailed, with motions, substitute motions, and amendments floating around in twos and threes, made it almost impossible that a reasonable conclusion should be reached. Parliamentary rules could not in themselves save the United Nations, but at least they could save needless confusion and provide a better demonstration of democracy at work than the Soviet delegate witnessed this week.

There was, of course, in the debate a deeper conflict than that arising from immediate disputes over oil and spheres of influence or from personal idiosyncrasies. James Reston put his finger on it when in last Sunday's *New York Times* he outlined the basic difference in attitude to the UNO between the Soviet Union and the Western powers. The former, from the very beginning, has "favored an organization designed to give world sanction and support to policies previously agreed upon by the great powers." The Western powers, while willing to make big concessions at the outset so as to include Russia, have thought of the UNO as "an organization which would preserve the equality of the members on all questions except the most important fundamental decisions to take punitive action against one of the member states." In this week's debate the Soviet delegate, standing in the tradition of Soviet delegates in all the

UNO conferences to date, carried this issue of big-power supremacy right back into matters of procedure.

Whether there can be any rapprochement between these two points of view remains to be seen. There is nothing to indicate that the Soviet Union desires to withdraw from the UNO, and there is much to indicate that the Western powers, if chagrined by Russia's unilateral acts, are anxious to prevent its return to isolation. They share with the Soviet Union a belief that the unanimity of the great powers is the only true safeguard of peace but feel equally strongly that in any free society unanimity must be reached by compromise and not by dictation from one or from a few. The next weeks will show whether we have advanced any substantial distance toward such unanimity.

Here and There

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

ANGLO-AMERICAN VETO

THERE is more than one way of preventing discussion of an issue by the Security Council. You can walk out, bringing down on your head an avalanche of criticism. Or, if you are strong enough, you can simply make it plain that you do not wish the matter brought up. Both methods have been applied during the past week. The superiority of the second is demonstrated by the heavy silence hanging over the question of Franco Spain. Britain and the United States have not even needed to reinforce their position with the threat of armed force; it has been sufficient to lock France in financial negotiations in Washington, negotiations upon which depends the whole economic future of that nation. Léon Blum is hostage to the determination of Foreign Office and State Department to throttle debate on Spain.

Since the three-power (British, French, United States) declaration was issued on March 5, France has twice urged submitting the question of Spain to the United Nations. Twice Britain and the United States have opposed it. Faced with this stubborn refusal, France last week sent a note to the two Western powers proposing joint action to reduce diplomatic relations with Franco to a minimum and cut off Spain's supply of foreign oil, and urging transfer of the security problem to the Council of Foreign Ministers. This was an obvious effort to get some sort of action under way without openly defying Britain and the United States. Perhaps it was also a stall for time: to keep the issue alive and quiet the French left, while Blum got ahead with his loan talks in Washington.

By persisting in a policy of do-nothingism, while also preventing an appeal to the UNO, the British and we are in effect exercising our veto power—a silent veto, applied inconspicuously and subtly, behind the scenes. Since the support of all five permanent members is necessary for

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Council action, no other nation wants to take the responsibility of raising the Spanish issue and exposing it to the danger of an adverse vote by one or both of the major Western powers. Until Mr. Truman and Mr. Byrnes finally decide that this is an ignoble part for the United States to play—a shameful repetition of the non-intervention policy that brought fascism to power in Spain—we shall no doubt continue to express our feelings toward Franco by an occasional frown and now and then an unkind word. There is more than one way to skin an issue.

DEATH OF A FIGHTER

Speaking of Spain, I want to say a word of sorrowful farewell to the old Republican leader Francisco Largo Caballero, who died on March 23 after a terrible and long-drawn-out illness. Caballero was first and last a labor man. His political activity grew directly out of the powerful federation of workers (the U. G. T.) which he helped to build and which for many years he headed. From the start of the century he took part in every revolutionary movement against the monarchy, and after the Republic was proclaimed, exactly fifteen years ago, he became its first Secretary of Labor. When the Franco rebellion began in 1936, Caballero mustered the unions in the U. G. T. and himself led them in their magnificent defense of the Republic. His service as Prime Minister ended in a serious political split in the Republican ranks. Although for many years Caballero had favored close political ties between the Socialist and Communist Parties and was chiefly responsible for bringing all the left parties into the war government, he finally broke with the Communists and with the groups that believed in continued cooperation. But even after he left the government, Caballero carried on the fight for the Republic with undiminished devotion.

The Gestapo seized him in France and sent him to a concentration camp in East Prussia, where the advancing Russian army found him in the summer of 1945. He got safely back to Paris and there he died, surrounded by his family and many of his Spanish comrades. It is a pity the tough old warrior could not have survived to see the end of the fight in which his whole life had been engaged.

UNRRA'S NEW CHIEF

The dynamic attack by Fiorello LaGuardia on the tasks facing UNRRA must have sent a tremor through the creaking joints of that unwieldy organization. If one man can make it operate at anything like the efficiency the terrible situation calls for, that man is LaGuardia. I say this without suggesting any criticism of Governor Lehman, who contributed energy, organizing ability and diplomatic skill to the upbuilding of UNRRA.

Today's crisis demands other qualities in which the new administrator excels. The time for patience and diplomacy has largely passed. Now we need high-

powered drive, a determination to cut red tape into confetti and save lives. We need a touch of drama. We need a little ferocity. All in all, we need New York's recent Mayor, and I am glad he has, for the duration of hunger, abandoned the typewriter for the meat-ax.

(But, confidentially, Fiorello, you won't get any extra meat or wheat out of Argentina by slapping Perón on the back and jollying him along. The Colonel—by the way, you promoted him to General in your speech—will do what profits him, politically and otherwise; appeasement will work exactly as it did in Italy and Germany—as it does in Spain. That is, not at all).

PERON'S BANK

By nationalizing the Central Bank of Argentina Perón has killed a number of birds with one decree.

Under its former control the Central Bank was operated as a joint enterprise; half the stock was owned by the government, half by private banks. Among American institutions sharing control were the National City Bank of New York and the First National Bank of Boston. The Central Bank controls Argentina's currency and fixes its international exchange rate. The law which created it limited the amount of money the bank could lend the government; only recently it refused to issue a loan requested by the War Ministry.

The recent decree wipes out all such impediments. In turning over the bank to its new president, President Farrell announced that its nationalization would permit a wide expansion of credit. If more money is need, the Central Bank can have it printed. If loans are requested, the Central Bank will float them. Thus, even before taking office, President-elect Perón has provided the means wherewith to run the country as he wants to run it. At the same time he has effectively avenged himself on the financial men who opposed his policies and, later, his election: several of the most powerful of them served on the board of the Central Bank. They have been replaced by Perón supporters; the new president, Miguel Miranda, is one of the few big business men who contributed to the Colonel's campaign fund.

The whole operation has naturally been advertised as one more step in the grand program of "social revolution" initiated by the dictatorship. Five representatives of workers' organizations (government controlled) have been made directors of the bank, and the official announcement took pains to remind the public that the British Labor government had similarly nationalized the Bank of England. Perón's latest move will undoubtedly serve to reinforce his popularity among the people, and the more the business men howl the stronger his position will be. It is only when prices rise more steeply and Perón's "shirtless ones" find themselves even poorer and hungrier than before, that the democratic camouflage will begin to peel off the new regime.

Atomic Pie in the Sky

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, March 31

I WANT to call attention to certain aspects of the so-called Lilienthal report on atomic energy which have been overlooked in the newspaper hoopla surrounding its release. Lilienthal's reputation has led many people to read the document much less critically than its importance warrants.

It is, in the first place, a dangerous kind of shorthand to call this the "Lilienthal report," as if it were solely or mainly the product of the chairman of the TVA. There were four other members of the Board of Consultants of which Lilienthal was chairman. Three were business men, executives of New Jersey Bell Telephone, General Electric, and Monsanto Chemical, respectively. The fourth was Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, a distinguished atomic physicist who has tried to play ball with Major General Leslie R. Groves, the army's chief executive in charge of the atomic-bomb program.

Before its release the report turned in by these men was twice revised after discussions with the State Department committee of five to which Lilienthal and his colleagues were acting as consultants. The department's committee of five was made up of Under Secretary of State Dean Acheson as chairman, Vannevar Bush, James B. Conant of Harvard, General Groves himself, and Assistant Secretary of State John J. McCloy. The only one of these five who is at all progressive in his thinking is Acheson. I do not know how extensive were the changes. The introduction signed by the top five says that "a preliminary draft" was presented to them ten days before the release. "Extensive discussion between the committee and the board," it goes on to explain, "led to the development of further considerations embodied in a subsequent draft." Apparently this did not end the process of revision. "Still further discussion," the introduction continues, "resulted in the report now transmitted."

The top committee of five was appointed on January 7 to study the subject of controls and safeguards of atomic energy so that the persons selected later to represent the United States on the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission could have the benefit of the study. Obviously Dean Acheson and his four colleagues regard the so-called "Lilienthal" report, twice revised, as the expression of their views as well as of Lilienthal's and the other consultants, for they end their introduction by informing the Secretary of State, "Your committee . . . awaits your further instructions as to whether you believe it has performed the task assigned to it and may now

be discharged." Thus the report must be read as the handiwork of Groves as well as Lilienthal.

The introduction signed by the top committee, including General Groves, is if anything more important, and certainly more revealing, than the report. Those who are concerned with preventing an atomic-bomb race must read it carefully. Two points in that introduction are of major importance for any realistic appraisal of the overall "plan" itself. The plan calls for the establishment of an international atomic-development authority which is to take over the world's uranium deposits and to have a monopoly of facilities for producing fissionable materials. We are to hand over our know-how to this organization. The question is: When shall we make this information available? The report says it can be done by progressive stages. The top committee, in its introduction, says, "In our opinion various stages may upon further study be suggested. It is enough to point out now that there could be at least four general points in this progression."

The first stage would release certain information necessary for discussion of alternative control proposals by the UNO Atomic Energy Commission and the UNO itself. The committee doubts whether any nation other than Great Britain or Canada would find its efforts to obtain the bomb "appreciably" shortened by this information. The next stage would come when the new international authority was finally established. The third stage would be reached when the authority was ready to begin industrial production of fissionable materials. These three stages would take several years, for they would include not merely the UNO's discussions but geological surveys, the taking over of uranium deposits, the beginning of mining operations, and the construction of plants. "The information regarding the construction of the bomb," the introduction by the committee of five says, "would not be essential to the plan until the last (and fourth) stage, when the organization was prepared to assume responsibility for research in the field of explosives as an adjunct to its regulatory and operational duties." In other words, other nations would be asked to hand over control of uranium deposits and presumably to end their own atomic-bomb work at the beginning of the process in return for a promise that at its end we would make the bomb know-how available. But what if at that time we changed our mind?

There is a second question raised by the introduction which may well give other nations pause. The committee of five says detailed proposals will require further study

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and will have to be guided by "basic decisions of high policy." One of these decisions, the committee says, "will be for what period of time the United States will continue the manufacture of bombs," that is, atomic bombs. "The plan," the committee goes on, "does not require that the United States shall discontinue such manufacture either upon the proposal of the plan or upon the inauguration of the international agency." The committee of five admits that this will be required "at some stage," since eventually the atomic-development authority will take over all production for military purposes. "But," it warns, "neither the plan nor our transmittal of it should be construed as meaning that this should or should not be done at the outset or at any specific time." Then there follows a sentence which seems to mean that we would not even commit ourselves in advance to end our own output of atomic bombs. For the committee of five says, "That decision, whenever made, will involve considerations of the highest policy affecting our security, and must be made by our government under its consti-

tutional processes and in the light of all the facts of the world situation."

The State Department report has much merit as a blueprint, though it makes some very wobbly scientific assumptions and there are dangers in its constant emphasis on the value of allowing free enterprise in the application of atomic energy to peace-time use. In practice, this is apt to open the door not to enterprise but to monopolistic interference with full development. I am concerned here only with one major consideration: this blueprint will not stop an atomic armaments race so long as we reserve the right to pile up stocks of atomic bombs, and so long as we reserve the right to change our minds four or five years hence about handing over the secret of the atomic bomb to the new authority. Under those circumstances other nations may reasonably be unwilling to turn over to it now their uranium resources. Hedged about by General Groves and his colleagues, the so-called "Lilienthal" report may turn out to be a prize phony, a slice of atomic pie in the sky.

What's in the Cards for Labor?

BY ROBERT BENDINER

AMERICA'S labor leaders, both C. I. O. and A. F. of L., are in a mood for genuine but tentative self-congratulation. Eight months ago, as the war drew to a close, every observer knew that before the country could reconvert to peace-time production there would be a day of reckoning. Aside from an occasional wildcat spree, labor had faithfully abided by its no-strike pledge and, like management, had performed prodigies in turning out the wherewithal of battle. But the cost of living had been climbing steadily, and industrial profits were reaching for the moon. Union leaders, pressed by the rank and file, nervously waited as overtime was steadily curtailed, leaving workers with less and less in the weekly pay envelope, and it took no remarkable vision to foresee that once the lid was off, a wave of strikes would sweep the country. What few predicted was that this immediate post-war unrest would be as moderate as it has been, that labor would so largely attain its objectives, and that half a year after V-J Day trade unionism would be stronger than it had ever been.

Inevitably minds drifted back to the post-war days of the early twenties, the days of the open-shop drive, when the American Federation of Labor lost something like a quarter of its members. Returning soldiers had played a big part in that union-smashing campaign, and in the fall of 1945 many believed that the veterans of World War II, long bombarded by anti-union propaganda, would be similarly exploited. The dissolution of the

C. I. O., unnaturally swollen by war industries, was foreseen by more than one wishful prophet.

But the pattern has been very different—so far. In most of the country's basic industries—steel, oil, automobiles, glass, electrical appliances, and meat-packing—millions of men and women have, without fanfare, "downed tools," demonstrated a quiet determination to outwait management, and ultimately gone back to work with wage boosts ranging from 15 to 18 per cent. In textiles, rubber, shipbuilding, and printing similar gains have been recorded without strikes and with scarcely any interruption in production schedules. In only two or three instances has violence flared up—and then on a scale insignificant compared with the wholesale brutality of the twenties.

THE TEST IS STILL TO COME

Heartening as this may be, there are all too many reasons why trade-union leaders consider it premature to be clapping themselves on the back with complete abandon. In the first place, several major walkouts are still ahead or in progress. The coal strike is expected to be kept short in order to demonstrate Lewis's "statesmanship" by pointing up the contrast with the 113-day strike at General Motors. But if Harry Bridges follows through on plans to pull out his West Coast longshoremen later in the spring, mass picketing, general strikes, and general turbulence are to be expected, in line with the revived militance of the Communists and those unions in

which their influence is strong. Strikes in the lumber industry are probable, and 75,000 electrical workers, out since the middle of January, are still trying to penetrate the resistance of the Westinghouse Electric Corporation.

Much more important, every informed labor leader knows that the real test still lies ahead, because the three factors that have saved the day for labor in 1946 may be drastically modified when this year's crop of union contracts expire.

The first of this protective trinity is the OPA. The general labor demand when the war ended was for a wage increase of 30 per cent. Even allowing for the customary horse-trading procedure of asking more than is expected, labor has settled for far less than it hoped to get. R. J. Thomas, former president of the United Automobile Workers (C. I. O.), has already served notice that he considers his union's recent wage gains "merely a down payment." Should price ceilings go, even this down payment will be wiped out, and labor will have to start all over again. Then, unless its demands are met, we can look for a strike wave that will make the one we have just been through seem like a ripple.

Whether or not those demands are met will depend in part on the continuation of the second factor in labor's recent success—the comparatively low level of unemployment. Labor Department officials looked forward fearfully to a total of eight million jobless Americans late this spring. So far the figure is closer to three million. Should this situation change drastically in the course of a year, employers, with a large pool of unemployed labor to draw on, including embittered veterans, would be in a stronger position to battle it out with the unions.

Given runaway prices and heavy unemployment—neither one of which, of course, is inevitable—labor will have to depend more than ever on the third saving grace that has attended it in the past six months, namely, a friendly Administration. The Communists, since discovering anew the perfidy of class collaboration, have gone after Mr. Truman with hammer and sickle, and even in less extreme circles it is fashionable to belittle the President as "Warren G. Truman." But the truth is that, aside from Franklin D. Roosevelt, no American President has been so sympathetic to labor as Truman or so outspoken in its behalf. It was Truman who publicly scored General Motors in the early days of the strike, who pressed labor's case for a wage rise over the networks of the nation, who put the finger on Congressional recalcitrants for bottling up needed social legislation and openly invited the public to bring pressure on those Congressmen while they were home mending their political fences. If his request for cooling-off legislation was undesirable from labor's point of view, it was not comparable in unfriendliness to Roosevelt's "plague on both your houses" statement, which labor swallowed and forgot. Chiefly, Truman's weaknesses rise out of the neces-

sity of treating with an inept and balky Congress, and any change on Capitol Hill will have to come, in large part, from a determined and united labor movement.

So far as the eye can see there is no such thing on the horizon. On the contrary, there is every indication that the present lull between strike waves will be characterized by inter-union warfare of a jurisdictional nature and intra-union warfare on a political level. Despite the fatuous protestations of unity on the part of labor officials, both are entitled to a public airing, because both are fraught with a public interest.

LABOR'S PRIVATE WARS

On the jurisdictional level warfare has already broken out in northern California, where a row between the C. I. O.'s Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Union and A. F. of L. teamsters has led to a virtual blockade of canneries at a moment when the world is clamoring for food. Some observers look for these same teamsters to attempt an all-out assault on Harry Bridges's men in the event of a longshoremen's strike. And a fierce jurisdictional fight is expected when the government's housing program finally gets under way. The A. F. of L., which has long had a stranglehold on the building trades, is numerically incapable of coping with a plan that calls for more than two million houses in the next two years. As though the actual shortage of union labor—due to the craft tradition of long apprenticeships—were not serious enough, many A. F. of L. locals resort to such restrictive practices as limiting the number of bricks a man may lay in a single day. Above all, the Federation is so truculently opposed to prefabrication that it has suspended the International Association of Machinists for favoring the process. Here is a rich field, ready and waiting for the C. I. O., but certain to bring it into fierce opposition with the old-line building trades.

John L. Lewis's return to what William Green unctuously and monotonously calls "the house of labor" is widely believed to herald a raiding campaign in the opposite direction. His District 50, which is broad enough to pick up anyone from a mule breeder to a nuclear physicist, is at present reaching out toward the field of chemical workers, already being plowed by the A. F. of L. Chemical Workers' Union and the C. I. O.'s Gas, Coke, and Chemical Workers. The independent telephone workers are another bone to be struggled over, and the virgin territory of Southern labor is wide open for organization. Here the initiative is being seized by the C. I. O., which has set aside \$1,000,000 for an intensive drive in lumber, textiles, rubber, and steel. This is a long-term project, but if it is effective it will do more to undermine poll-tax politics than all the progressives who ever sat in Congress.

Any extensive success for Lewis in this jurisdictional warfare will undoubtedly make him, if he is not already,

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the dominant power in the A. F. of L. Those who get closer than I to the great actor believe that this is only a small part of his ambition; that he plans the complete disruption of the organization that ousted him from its leadership, and that he hopes eventually to sit in a Republican Cabinet—the Francis Perkins, perhaps, of the Bricker Administration.

Of all Lewis's raiding ambitions, real and imaginary, none is more sensational than the idea of capturing the United Automobile Workers for the Federation. I have no way of knowing whether Lewis and David Dubinsky, of the A. F. of L.'s International Ladies' Garment Workers, actually nurture any such hope, but the belief that they do is widespread and brings us logically to the state of politics within the C. I. O.

REUTHER, MURRAY, AND THE COMMUNISTS

The story originated when Dubinsky had his picture taken in the act of pledging his union to raise a half-million dollars for relief of the General Motors strikers. Normally one would think this a laudable crossing of unnatural lines and an unimpeachable demonstration of labor solidarity. But the Communist press, which looked with a jaundiced eye both on Walter P. Reuther's conduct of the G. M. strike and on Walter P. Reuther himself, treated it as tainted money and launched the rumor that if Reuther were elected president of the U. A. W. he would take the union into the A. F. of L.

I have seen the figures on trade-union contributions to the G. M. strikers, and I know that the largest number of contributions, by locals and individuals, came from the Progressive Miners' Union, such bitter foes of Lewis that they withdrew from the A. F. of L. when Lewis was readmitted. I know, moreover, that whatever Dubinsky may have hoped, Walter Reuther has not the slightest inclination to abandon the C. I. O. Yet the story took hold with such persistence that at a closed session of the C. I. O.'s executive board Philip Murray could bring himself to excoriate those who "with money from Dubinsky and Lewis" were seeking to promote divisions within the C. I. O.

The fiercely contested election in the U. A. W., which Reuther won by only 124 votes, highlights the factional tension that exists throughout the C. I. O. today. On the face of it the issue was simple. The Reuther forces opposed the reelection of R. J. Thomas as president on the ground that he was simply not up to the job. There is in fact abundant evidence of Thomas's incapacity: his fantastic plea to the Labor government of Great Britain to intervene in the General Motors strike; his testimony before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, in which he attempted to link Vandenberg with Gerald L. K. Smith, thereby alienating even so friendly a Senator as Morse of Oregon; and his habit of repudiating letters sent out by his own office.

Reuther, on the other hand, is rightly regarded as one of the most intelligent and progressive men ever to come to the fore in the American labor movement. Yet Murray, for all his surface neutrality, made it perfectly clear that he wanted Thomas reelected. Why? First, perhaps, because of sharp differences concerning the function of a trade-union leader.

Reuther, once a Socialist, thinks in terms of the national economy, and he made an effort in the early days of the G. M. strike to make maintenance of the price level a joint objective with a wage increase. Murray, on the other hand, was reared in the more elementary traditions of the Mine Workers. Politically



Philip Murray

he has come a long way since parting company with Lewis, but he still feels that for a trade unionist there is nothing wrong that a good pay raise won't cure.

Clearly a more decisive consideration was the fact that Thomas, in his bumbling way a conservative, nevertheless commanded the support of what for lack of a more accurate term is known as the C. I. O.'s left wing. Certainly Murray is neither a Communist nor a fellow-traveler, but he is not blind to currents within his organization. He has considered it his function to keep the pro-Communist and anti-Communist forces in balance and prevent them from clashing. Right now the Communist-affected elements in the C. I. O. are in one of those restless moods that mark the emergence of a new line. Infuriated by what they regard as Truman's coolness to the Soviet Union, they are talking "third party" again. It is only a matter of time before they come to grips on this issue with Sidney Hillman and the C. I. O.'s Political Action Committee. Hillman is fanatically opposed to the third-party idea, though fanaticism is hardly required to see a reasonable choice between a Truman and a Bricker.

Reuther's election, which elevates him to the highest governing body of the C. I. O. and backs him with the strength of the world's largest union, is a shock to the left wing. It represents a wholesome shift in the distribution of power which Murray hoped to avert solely for the sake of peace. I don't doubt either that there will be rough-and-tumble battles in the months ahead or that the C. I. O. will weather them—just as it weathered the break with John L. Lewis, the departure of the I. L. G. W., and other crises of its short but lively history.

Palestine Notes

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

As correspondent for the Overseas News Agency Constantine Poulos has written some of the best stories to come out of the Balkans and the Middle East. Last fall he was thrown out of Palestine by the British and American military command because of an article he wrote for the New York Post

Jerusalem, March 1

THE First Step. The 65,000 to 100,000 Jews who are in displaced persons' camps in Europe should be brought to Palestine—now. Arab opposition will be a little louder than it would have been nine months ago, but it will not be serious unless British officials in the Middle East want it to be.

The refugees should have been brought here last summer. The situation in Palestine would not be what it is today if that had been done. And it was not a question of shipping. Close to twice that many troops have been brought to Palestine from all over the British Empire since V-E Day. It was just a case of, a weak conscience and weak knees.

The Arabs in London. Palestine Jews are disturbed by the excellent batting average at London of the five Arab states in the UNO. Egypt was elected to the Security Council. The Lebanon was appointed to the Economic and Social Council. Syria obtained the presidency of the Administrative Committee, which assured it a place on the UNO's Steering Committee for one year. Iraq was placed on the Trusteeship Committee, a significant post in view of Palestine.

It was from Beirut that a partial explanation came of how this remarkable job was accomplished by five countries whose war effort was conspicuous by its absence. In a report to the Lebanese Prime Minister the head of the Lebanese delegation, Foreign Minister Hamid Bey Frangieh, gave an account of "the great assistance and guidance which the Arab delegations had from the United States Minister to the Levant States, Mr. George Wadsworth." As a result of Wadsworth's "intervention and mediation the Arab delegates agreed to support the candidacy of the Belgian delegate, M. Paul Henri Spaak, for president of the Assembly." In exchange, "Great Britain, the United States, and the South American republics agreed to back Egypt's inclusion in the Security Council and the nomination of Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq to other committees."

Mr. Wadsworth also "promised the Arab delegates that he would explain the viewpoint of the Arabs on Palestine" to the American delegation in the event the Palestine question should come up for discussion. (George Wadsworth, former consul general in Jerusalem, was chief secretary to the United States delegation to the UNO. His anti-Jewish attitude is well known.)

Why? Take the British coddling of the Arab pashas in London. Add Bevin's grandiose gesture in announcing the independence of Transjordan. Add the editorial comment of the *New York Times* on the Anglo-American Inquiry Committee's hearings in Washington: "Sir John E. Singleton, British chairman, made it clear that he and his colleagues would undertake to defend the past policies of the British government in dealing with Palestine." Add the deliberate distortion by the Palestine government—repeated parrot-like in London—of recent events in Palestine. Add the Palestine government's deliberate indifference to the Arab boycott of Jewish goods. Add the complete stoppage of Jewish immigration immediately after Bevin's pledge "to continue at present rate." Add the picture of the British Empire humbly pleading with a half-dozen Arab landlords for permission to let in a dribble of 1,500 Jews a month for four months. Add the horrible picture of tens of thousands of Jews still in camps in Europe. And, finally, add the statement of the chairman of the Anglo-American Palestine Committee that the whole business will probably have to be turned over to the UNO for discussion.

Then wonder "why" the Jews of Palestine are desperate and defiant.

Mandate or Colony? On January 24 the official Palestine government *Gazette* published the text of the Trans-Arabian Pipe Line Company's "convention" with the Palestine government providing for the laying of a pipe line (the Ickes line) across Palestine. The Trans-Arabian Pipe Line Company is a subsidiary of the American Arabian Oil Company, which is jointly owned by Standard Oil of California and Texaco. As noted in the Palestine Attorney General's "objects and reasons," the agreement follows the terms of prior "conventions" signed by the Palestine government with the Iraqi Petroleum Company and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

The agreements in all three cases exempt the oil companies from existing and future taxation, federal or municipal. "No import tax, transit tax, export tax, or other fiscal charges shall be levied on the crude oil or derivatives intended for consignment in transit or for industrial use by the company."

The companies are granted such extensive rights as expropriation of necessary private lands, lease of state lands, and "the free use of water, clay, limestone, and timber from government sources."

All stores, equipment, materials, etc., may be imported by the companies free of customs or other import dues.

In two particulars the Palestine government's agreement with the American oil companies differs from the two previous "conventions." The American company will not enjoy immunity from damage caused by pollution of water or soil or contamination of air as a result of its operations. The new agreement contains a fair labor clause, whereas the previous two did not.

In spite of the fact that the new pipe line will make Palestine one of the four largest oil-handling centers in the world, the people of Palestine will still have to pay more for oil and oil products than the people of Holland, the United Kingdom, or the United States.

A Police State. Churchill once spoke of "police states," countries where people spend uneasy nights fearing an ominous knock on the door, where "terror" is exercised by the government's forces of public security, where people "disappear" suddenly. Churchill didn't mean Palestine, but the resemblance is striking.

Homes are searched without warrants. Persons are sent to concentration camps without trial. "Detained" persons are not permitted to talk with counsel. Women have been "detained" for five years without having charges brought against them. Habeus Corpus does not exist for the Palestine police.

In the summer of 1944 a young man from Tel Aviv was brought into court on the charge of distributing "illegal literature." The court found him not guilty. He is still in jail on "administrative detention." A twenty-one-year-old girl from Ramat Gan was arrested and "detained" for four years in a prison with thieves and prostitutes because she once went to the movies with a "suspected terrorist."

The Palestine government has deported more than 300 Jews to camps in Eritrea. About 250 are still being held there. Late last month two of the inmates were killed and twelve injured in a "disturbance."

In December a test case was brought up before the Palestine High Court. Counsel charged that a citizen and resident of Palestine had been exposed to summary arrest, transported to Eritrea, and imprisoned there without any conviction or order of a court of justice. The Solicitor General blandly denied that it was the Palestine authorities who were detaining the man. He asserted that it was the Chief Administrator of Eritrea, and that the Palestine government had no control over such cases. The Solicitor General even contended that a request by the Palestine government for the release and return of any prisoner would be refused by the Eritrean authorities. The court upheld the government.

Censorship. Two Hebrew newspapers were suspended in November for publishing certain items, though these items had been passed by the censor. Ten weeks before, the chief censor had assured the editors of Palestine

newspapers that the "suspension of a paper would never be ordered for passages released by the censor." To cover up the government's back-tracking, the Chief Secretary, immediately after the suspension of the two papers, sent out a letter to all editors—from which he childishly left off the date—warning them that the existence of a press censorship "did not absolve them of their duty to exercise a proper sense of responsibility."

An Arab labor paper was forbidden to denounce last November's anti-Jewish outbreaks in Egypt and Tripolitania because it had suggested that such acts merely served imperial interests.

In March, 1944, Palestine newspapers were not permitted to print President Roosevelt's statement that "the American government has never given its approval to the White Paper." Today the newspapers are not permitted to mention Hitler's chum, the ex-Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. Meanwhile Egyptian papers coming into Palestine daily carry all the news that the Palestine press is not permitted to print.

There is a "black list" of books. That too is "secret." Until last November the man who determined which books the people of Palestine could read was the chief of the Criminal Investigation Division of the Palestine police. Now the censor's office does it. Forbidden are the Moscow-published English-language volume "We Shall Not Forgive: The Horrors of the German Invasion in Documents and Photographs," and United States Government Printing Office editions of Congressional Hearings at which the Palestine problem was discussed.

Nationalism. Nationalism has reached such a degree in Palestine that there are two Communist parties—one for the Arabs and one for the Jews. Last year "the line" was a little confusing to all concerned.

At the international trade-union conference in London last February the Soviet Union's delegation voted for the resolution expressing support for Jewish aspirations in Palestine. But at the congress held in Paris in September the Soviet delegation took the opposite position. The Arab Communists' explanation of the Soviet stand in London was that "the war was still going on."

The national slogans of the Arab Communists are no different from those of the wealthy, upper-class Arab landowners and professional politicians.

The Arab Communists say that "the real cause of unrest in Palestine today is the fight of the Arab national movement against the establishment of a Jewish National Home which would stand as a buffer against the independence and progress of the Arab countries."

The Jewish Communist Party announces that it is "fighting for the free development of the Jewish National Home" and the "abrogation of the White Paper with regard to immigration and settlement."

It is the Zionist contention that at this stage of the development of the National Home an aggressive,

"healthy" Jewish nationalism is necessary and unavoidable. But Zionist nationalism is driving the Arabs and Jews farther apart and thus playing into the hands of British policy. All Jews readily admit that the Arab politicians are not true representatives of the Arab masses; yet the Jewish attitude on the whole is the same toward all Arabs. It is patronizing and often supercilious.

With a few notable exceptions there doesn't appear to be any sincere desire on the part of the Jews to help the Arabs. The benefits that Jewish development of Palestine has brought to the Arab people are incidental.

It is not true that the Jewish trade unions encourage

Arab workers to join with them in their struggle for higher wages and better working conditions. The handful of Arab workers in the Arab section of the General Federation of Jewish Labor do not have the same rights and privileges as the Jewish workers. And in most cases these Arab workers were organized as a maneuver to raise the wages of Jewish workers on the same job.

The extreme Jewish nationalism of today is building the barriers of national segregation higher and higher. It cannot be otherwise as long as Zionist teachings imply that the strengthening of Zionism is a safeguard against "the Arab danger."

To Your Health!

BY JAMES E. MURRAY

United States Senator from Montana and chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor

WITH public hearings now under way on the Wagner-Murray-Dingell health-insurance bill, a vast flood of mail is beginning to pour into Washington. This mail indicates a tremendous demand throughout the country for a national system of prepaid medical and hospital care.

A typical letter recently received by the Senate Education and Labor Committee was from a middle-aged carpenter, with heavy family responsibilities, who had worked for thirty years in a large New Jersey factory. After a long struggle he had paid off the mortgage on his house and saved a nest egg of \$4,000 to help make old age comfortable for himself and his wife. In December, 1943, a stomach ailment took him twice to the hospital, and eventually most of his stomach had to be cut away. Let me continue in his words:

I have seen my car sold, my bonds turned in, my bank account and ready cash go because I tried to be honest and pay my bills. Today I have about \$100 in cash.

He concludes:

The working man or woman does not expect his employer or the government to stand for the full expense. We are willing to do our share. The government wants and has set up a standard for better living conditions. Why can't we have a real security of health so when we are sick we can still feel we will be taken care of without the feeling of going mad from worry?

It is more than likely true that I will never live to see and have the real benefits of this bill, for I can never replace again what I have lost both inside of me and out. I am fifty-four years old with two children and six grandchildren. I can only pray that they do not have to face this rich country of ours with no security of health. We are trying today to lead the rest of the world to a real democracy. Let this country have a real democracy by passing the national health bill.

If the Wagner-Murray-Dingell health bill had been in effect during the last few years, this man's story would have been quite different. His family doctor would have been paid from a nation-wide insurance fund. There would have been financial provision for a specialist on gastric ailments. The many necessary X-rays and other laboratory tests would have been taken care of. The insurance fund would also have covered practically the entire bill for his two stays of one month each at the hospital, since the program provides for up to sixty days of hospitalization in any one year. In fact, with this basic financial protection assured, this man might well have had his ailment diagnosed months, if not years, before he did. Early treatment might have added years to his life.

The writer of this letter says that during his own period of illness his wife also had to be rushed to the hospital. Since the health bill provides for inclusion of all dependents, her expenses would have been covered by insurance as well as his.

The only important element of a health-security program that the writer of this letter would not have enjoyed is disability benefits to compensate for the loss of wages while he was unable to work. Disability benefits are not included in the national health bill. They are provided for, however, together with improved old-age and unemployment insurance, in the general social-security bill, S. 1050-H.R. 3293, sponsored by Senator Wagner, Representative Dingell, and myself.

When the health-insurance bill becomes law, the benefits will not be limited to workers and their families. The veteran, the farmer, the business man, and their families will be included. For the veteran, health insurance will round out the necessarily limited benefits of the G. I. Bill of Rights. It will provide complete medical care for all veterans, not merely for those with disabilities resulting from war-time service. It will cover the vet-

man's dependents. It will give him and his family the right to go to the doctor and the hospital of their choice. For the farmer, federal health insurance will mean a new kind of parity—parity in medical and hospital care. It will facilitate the location of more doctors and more hospitals in rural areas. It will enable farm families to utilize fully the services of both.

For the business man, and especially the small business man, health insurance will mean lower costs and higher productivity. The New Jersey worker whose letter I quoted was absent from his job for more than five months. The national figure for absenteeism due to sickness is 500,000,000 man-days a year. This is equivalent to having 10,000,000 people out of work for fifty days each. It is fourteen times the 35,000,000 idle man-days caused by strikes in 1945. According to the Commerce Department, the loss to industry from such idleness adds up to about \$4,000,000,000 a year.

The program will also benefit the medical profession and the hospitals. Doctors and dentists will be assured prompt payment. Their incomes will become more adequate and more stable. The patient, of course, will be free to choose his own physician, and the physician to accept or reject a patient who chooses him. The fee will no longer stand between the patient and the doctor. Doctors and dentists will be able to provide their patients with all the advantages of consultation, laboratory, and diagnostic services—without any financial strain between the physician and his patient. As for hospitals, they will be guaranteed payment for essential care for an insured patient, regardless of the patient's income.

Why is it that workers, veterans, business men, doctors, and hospitals have thus far been denied the benefits of a health-insurance program? The reason is that legislative action has been impeded by an unscrupulous campaign waged for many years by a small but exceedingly effective lobby. The driving force in this campaign stems from the ruling clique in the American Medical Association—doctors who are more interested in high-fee, luxury-trade practice than in extending medical care to the masses of our people. Although these few men are aware that nation-wide health insurance will raise the income of practically all physicians, they fear it will bring a sharp cut in their own high fees. Then there are those drug and patent-medicine companies which seem to think that their profits depend—to put it bluntly—upon the maintenance of ill health. Finally, there are the diehard reactionaries who are congenitally opposed to anything that would benefit the majority of the people.

Every progressive program seems to go through three stages. First, its opponents make wild charges of "communism." This charge was the basis of the bitter campaign waged against health insurance during the last few years by the American Medical Association and its propaganda arm, the National Physicians' Committee. It was

also used by the A. M. A. in opposing earlier efforts to set up voluntary prepayment plans and group medical practice. Secondly, changing their tune, enemies of the program say, "We agree with your objectives, but let's do it some other way." This is the stage we are now in. The A. M. A. is now promoting, as an alternative to federal health insurance, the same voluntary insurance plans that only a few years ago it fought so bitterly. Finally, the demand for affirmative action becomes so strong that the only strategy left to the opposition is to jump on the band-wagon and try to seize the reins.

To any discerning observer it is clear that we shall soon enter this final stage. Public demand for compulsory health insurance is growing steadily. Let me refer to a public-opinion poll taken in January, 1946, by Governor Dewey's New York Commission on Medical Care. The poll showed that 86 per cent of the people of New York State believe that everyone who lives in the state should have insurance to cover doctors' and hospital bills.

It will be impossible for the A. M. A. to satisfy the public with voluntary health-insurance plans. Voluntary plans are necessarily limited in coverage to those in the upper income groups. This inadequate coverage, in turn, makes it impossible for such plans to provide the full gamut of medical and hospital services at reasonable cost.

It is obvious that the present strategy of the A. M. A. in promoting the prepayment plans of local medical societies has a long-range objective—namely, the creation in every state of a doctor-controlled insurance set-up which, when federal health insurance is enacted, can move in and take over the administration. Needless to say, if this strategy succeeds, we shall have forty-eight uncoordinated systems such as we now have in the administration of unemployment compensation and the employment service. The result would be an inefficient, badly planned system with high administrative costs, a low quality of service, and an abundance of special fees and burdensome restrictions. If on the other hand we can defeat this A. M. A. strategy, we shall have a national program with decentralized administration and full consumer participation. We shall have low administrative costs, few restrictions, and steadily improving quality in all the services provided—medical care, dental care, hospital care, home nursing, and laboratory tests.

The creation of an effective national health program no longer depends merely upon a general demand for government health insurance. That demand is already overwhelming. In the not too distant future the issue before Congress will be not *whether* to have government health insurance but *what kind* of government health insurance to establish. It is up to the American people to let Congress know that they will accept nothing less than a nationally planned program providing all necessary health services and conforming to the highest attainable standards of medical care.

Bogomolets in America

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

A New York physician; author of "You Are Younger Than You Think"

IN 1942, while collecting material for a book on old age, I noticed a short U. P. item in the New York Times announcing that a Russian scientist was working with a new serum to prolong life. I wrote to the Soviet embassy in Washington for further information. The embassy replied that some material had been received in this country and forwarded to Dr. Hrdlicka of the Smithsonian Institution. Dr. Hrdlicka, to whom I next addressed myself, sent me a sheaf of Russian papers by Dr. A. A. Bogomolets, of some of which I had translations made. Their content seemed to me highly important. I found a great deal more material on the subject at the library of the New York Academy of Medicine, with extensive summaries in English, French, or German. From then on I tried to interest scientists in this country in the serum with which Dr. Bogomolets was working; this is known as ACS, for anti-reticular cytotoxic serum. I talked to people at the Rockefeller Institute; I talked to research executives of leading pharmaceutical houses. My suggestion that the Russian findings on ACS be checked were disregarded. Nobody wanted to touch the outlandish discovery.

In my book, "You Are Younger Than You Think," I gave, I believe, the first exhaustive report in this country on Dr. Bogomolets and his work. But three papers by Dr. Bogomolets and his co-workers were published in the *American Review of Soviet Medicine* for December, 1943. Later dispatches from Russia indicated that Bogomolets had become a hero there. Some interest flared up here. But no serum reached this country, and Dr. Sigerist of Johns Hopkins, whom I approached with a particular case in mind, informed me that, even through diplomatic channels, none could be obtained.

About a year ago I met Dr. Harry Goldblatt, professor of experimental pathology at Western Reserve University in Cleveland, and was delighted to learn that he was producing ACS. He had received a modest sum for this purpose from a man and woman who had frantically tried to get ACS before their son died of cancer. There were rumors that Eric Johnston had obtained some serum in Russia but that it had reached this country in a spoiled state. It became known that a movie magnate had given money to finance research on ACS in the Cedars of Lebanon Hospital in Los Angeles. Also Dr. Jacob Heiman of Columbia University was said to have started on experimental research. In the summer of 1945 Dr. Goldblatt sent his Cleveland-made serum to a number of physicians, and the first clinical experi-

ences with the American ACS are now being observed. With the exception of the serum used at the Los Angeles hospital all the ACS in this country has been prepared by Dr. Goldblatt and distributed to physicians free of charge. It is his serum which has been used by Dr. Malisoff and his collaborators at the Essex College of Medicine and Surgery in New Jersey in their experiments with its effects on Hodgkin's disease.

The January, 1946, issue of the *Ladies' Home Journal* contained an article by William L. Laurence, science reporter of the New York Times, in which he said that he was "the first to report this amazing Russian discovery," which he considered "more important to the welfare of mankind than the atomic bomb." This article was reprinted by the *Reader's Digest*, which apparently cannot appear without at least one medical miracle a month. Since then articles on ACS have appeared almost daily, most of them full of overstatements and misrepresentations. Mr. Barmine, in "One Who Survived," comes to the conclusion that Bogomolets invented his serum exclusively to prolong the life of Stalin. *Look*, in an article entitled Do You Want to Live 200 Years, makes all manner of silly statements, misquoting the one sentence taken from my book. *Reader's Scope* contributes this absurdity: "The probability is that women will retain child-bearing functions well past the age of ninety." Such outbreaks of uncontrolled imagination threaten to discredit a serious scientific project.

The facts are these. Dr. A. A. Bogomolets, head of the Kiev Institute of Experimental Biology and Pathology and since 1930 president of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, came many years ago to two important conclusions: (1) The much-neglected connective tissue of our organism plays an important part in the process of aging and in the mechanism of chronic degenerative diseases. (2) The so-called cytotoxic serum, known to scientists since 1900, opens the way to stimulating degenerated connective tissue and restoring it to a normal state. According to Bogomolets, the connective tissue of our body plays an important part in the regulation of cellular nutrition and metabolism, is active in the healing of wounds, ulcers, and fractures, and has much to do with the resistance of the body to infection and to the development of cancerous growths.

A cytotoxic serum is one that is poisonous to various categories of cells. Forty-five years ago Metchnikoff wrote: "Into an animal of a different species specific cells are injected—red blood cells, liver, or kidney cells.

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After several injections the blood serum of the animal becomes toxic to the cells which have been introduced, and it will kill these specific cells if reinjected into the animal from which the original cells have been taken." Metchnikoff went on to observe that "small portions of cytotoxic serum strengthen specific elements of tissues rather than killing or dissolving them." After solving a number of biochemical difficulties, Bogomolets succeeded in measuring the action of cytotoxic serum. This enabled him to start a series of experimental and clinical studies with the aim of stimulating human connective tissue by very small amounts of cytotoxic serum, prepared by using human connective-tissue elements. As a result of these studies he produced ACS.

In 1936, after twelve years of preliminary experiments with animals, Dr. Bogomolets dared a clinical test on human beings. Since then, especially during the war, ACS has been used in many thousands of cases of infected wounds, osteomyelitis, arthritis, gangrene, lung abscesses, bone fractures, and cancer after operation (in order to prevent recurrence). A tremendous Russian literature on the subject indicates that the treatment is being used by almost every major clinical institution in the country with amazing success. In 1943 three million doses were produced to take care of immediate needs. Scientists tend rightly to be suspicious of new therapeutic techniques which promise to solve too many problems at once. But this aspect of ACS can be explained by the number of important functions fulfilled by the connective-tissue system.

When I first learned about ACS I was impressed by the scientifically sound theory on which it was based and by the voluminous reports of favorable clinical experience. I thought it should be given an unbiased trial in this country. This is now being done under Dr. Goldblatt's leadership. It seems still too early to come to definite conclusions. All I would say at this moment is that ACS is a promising method of treatment. Many clinical and technical problems remain to be solved.

If the value of ACS in the fight against chronic degenerative diseases could be definitely established, its use would, indeed, prolong life, since most people now die prematurely of such diseases. Bogomolets—and many scientists with him—believes that the natural life span of a human being is about 125 years, but whether ACS can extend life to such a degree by eradicating degenerative diseases is entirely unproved. More than a million copies of Bogomolets's book, "The Prolongation of Life," have been sold in the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, it is a popular pamphlet on his theories of longevity rather than a scientific report on ACS, and if translated and published in this country might do more harm than good by increasing the longevity hysteria.

[Dr. Gumpert's page on new developments in medicine and related fields appears monthly.]

In the Wind

ALL THIS AND VAUDEVILLE TOO: Earl Wilson, the New York Post's nightspot columnist, reports that the navy is scouting for entertainers to play before Congressmen and newspapermen at the Bikini Atoll atom-bomb tests. Just in case things get dull, we presume.

THE POT AND THE KETTLE: A Canadian radio newscaster, reporting on the recent riots in India, quoted Prime Minister Attlee as saying the riots were the work of "left-wing elements."

FAMINE NOTES: Herbert Hoover made a radio address on March 16 urging the importance of conserving food in America to prevent starvation in Europe. Shortly afterward the Truth or Consequences program came on the air, featuring a hilarious sequence in which participants squashed lemon-meringue pies in each other's faces. . . . A bulletin announcing the forthcoming banquet of the Balzac Society of America proclaims: "There is no longer a scarcity of choice meat and drink, which will be served in greater profusion than ever before."

THE METAPHOR OF THE WEEK comes from Drew Pearson's column of March 17: "Last week [Representative] Gallagher got something off his chest he had been nursing for a long time."

POLITICS AFLOAT: The Compagnie Messageries Maritimes of France, according to the Overseas News Agency, has had a ticklish time with a merchant ship it just launched. Built during the occupation, the ship was first named the Maréchal Pétain. After the liberation it was rechristened the General Charles de Gaulle. When De Gaulle resigned, the company directors cast a wary eye over the political scene, went into conference, and came up with a third choice which they think will stick: La Marseillaise.

THE OLD-FASHIONED VIRTUES are coming back—on the wings of modern promotion methods. Editor and Publisher says that Pillsbury Mills' spring advertising campaign will feature a free recipe book offering instructions on home bread-baking.

THIS ONE HAS US STUMPED. The German-American weekly publication *Aufbau* reports that when Gestapo agents, posing as musicians, accompanied the Berlin Philharmonic on its tours through Europe, they were usually disguised as flutists.

SWEDISH STONE QUARRIES, cables a New York Times correspondent, are getting a little worried about the granite victory monument that Hitler ordered in 1940. They're still working on it and have engaged a lawyer to investigate their chances of getting the \$500,000 still due on the contract.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS



Big Steel Reports

THE standard annual corporation report is neither attractive nor very informative. It usually consists of a brief statement by the chairman summarizing the results of the year, with perhaps a reference to future prospects, to which is appended a highly compressed income and expenditure account and a balance sheet, both pretty meaningless to the average stockholder. In recent years, however, a new fashion in corporation reports has been spreading, and a number of leading firms are sending out very fancy booklets in which skilled public-relations men translate the jargon of the accountants into the lingo of the slick magazines.

An excellent example of such face-lifting is to be found in the report for 1945 of the United States Steel Corporation, which has just come to my desk. It is a forty-page job, profusely and excellently illustrated, on an expensive coated paper. The typography is good, the design and lay-out are attractive, and the text has been edited with care. Confronted with all these virtues, it seems churlish to complain, but were I a stockholder in the company I would ask for fewer pretty pictures and more solid facts to enable me to judge the real worth of my investment. And it seems to me that the public is entitled to more information about the condition of Big Steel than this report vouchsafes, for the corporation, with its assets of over \$2 billion, its gross sales in 1945 of over \$1.7 billion, and its 279,000 employees, is something more than a private concern. It is the key unit of a key industry, and the policies of its directors decide the fortunes of a large segment of our economy.

Under these circumstances I think both stockholders and public have a legitimate interest in the managerial salaries of Big Steel. But while the report has a great deal to say about wage rates and how much they have risen since the war, there is no clue to the amounts paid to officers of the company individually, not even any entry in the accounts to indicate their collective receipts. Yet this must represent an appreciable fraction of costs, for in addition to United States Steel, with its own management roster, no fewer than thirty-three principal subsidiaries are listed on the back of the report, each with a president and presumably a full complement of other officials.

Another glaring omission in the report is the lack of separate financial data about these subsidiaries. As a holding company United States Steel presents consolidated accounts in which the receipts and expenditures of the underlying companies, comprising steel mills and fabricating works, ore mines and cement plants, railroad and steamship companies, are all lumped together—a fine method for covering up managerial incompetence. No stockholder with only these accounts to guide him can have any idea how the different provinces of the industrial empire in which he owns a share have been making out in the past year. Losses on railroads or steel mills may be overbalanced by profits on ore mines

and cement works, or vice versa. The stockholder cannot tell and cannot judge, therefore, how far bad luck or bad management in one field is being hidden by good luck or good management in another.

Nor can we, the public, check on claims by Big Steel for higher prices. Irving S. Olds, the chairman, says in his report that in 1945 most of the "steel tonnage" of the company was being sold at a loss under the ceiling prices then current. But since consolidated earnings were by no means inconsiderable, other products presumably were being sold at a handsome profit. If the ceiling for finished steel was too low, perhaps ceilings for raw materials controlled by the company were too high.

Again Mr. Olds tells us that the price increase of \$5 a ton recently allowed to compensate for higher wages will not adequately cover increased costs, and that unless there is a marked increase in efficiency, further rises in price will be necessary. It seems to me that the biggest factor in keeping down costs is something he did not mention—the rate of production. The company report says nothing of the "break-even point" under the new wage-and-price scale, but a writer in the *Wall Street Journal* has estimated it at 75 per cent of capacity. At that rate of production fixed costs, according to this source, work out at about \$13.3 per ton, but at 100 per cent capacity they would fall to \$10 a ton. In other words, if with 75 per cent capacity operation costs and proceeds balance, then at 100 per cent there should be a profit equal to \$3.3 a ton. Since full production for Big Steel means twenty million tons of finished steel, this would make possible net profits of \$66 million, sufficient to pay a common dividend of \$4 a share, the annual rate for the past six years, and leave a good margin.

No doubt it will be said that full production is a very high mark to shoot at. But it is not an impossible one under present conditions, for the demand for steel, at present prices, is enormous. For a long period ahead the company should be able to sell every ton it can squeeze out of its furnaces. But should it succeed in raising prices, and the *Wall Street Journal* reports that its representatives have hinted at an additional \$8.25, the result might well be an early drying up of demand. At that point we could expect cries that labor costs were too high and that wages must be cut so that prices might be reduced.

One factor bearing on Big Steel's prospects, to which more space than I have left should be given, is the immense strengthening of its financial position during the war. The report suggests that the company's extensive and well-advertised patriotic services have been meagerly rewarded, and it is true that it was not permitted to repeat the bonanza profits it enjoyed in World War I. But for the five years 1941-45 its aggregate profits were \$368.85 million, compared to \$281 million for the years 1936-40. Moreover, it wrote off out of earnings \$300 million worth of emergency facilities, many of which will continue to be valuable, and increased its working capital by over \$300 million, including \$200 million segregated for property additions and improvements. The stock market, I may add, does not take a gloomy view of Big Steel's prospects: the current quotation for the common is higher than in any other year since 1937.

KEITH HUTCHISON

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The People's Front

Paris, March 27

IN THE midst of the present international confusion there is one organization that deserves the support of all men who do not want a third world war. It is the World Federation of Trade Unions. I have had several long talks with the General Secretary of the W. F. T. U. at the headquarters in the rue Vernet. Louis Saillant is a leader who came out of the Resistance. In his middle thirties, plain-spoken, sharp-featured, with a frank, intelligent look, he is a typical representative of the French working class. He got his schooling in the labor movement; at the age of nineteen he was already secretary of a trade union. Nine years later he was elected to the Executive Committee of the Confédération Générale du Travail (the C. G. T.). The outbreak of the war in 1939 sent him into the army. The betrayal of France in 1940 sent him into the underground. In September, 1944, when Georges Bidault quit his role of underground conspirator to become head of the Quai d'Orsay, Louis Saillant was unanimously elected *président du Conseil National de la Résistance*.

His philosophy is best summed up in his own words: "The world is moving toward a new civilization. Though I belong to no party, I believe in socialism, in the powerful truth of its doctrine and in the inevitability of its fulfilment. Regimes will die and others will be born in the transition from yesterday's stage of civilization to the new one. In this process France has an important part to play. It taught the world the meaning of the rights of man and the citizen; now it must strive for a social democracy that will make possible the realization of the rights of working people."

The last time I saw Saillant a cable lay on his desk—a desperate appeal from the workers of Greece. Its terse, simple language pictured more dramatically than all the published reports the grave events taking place in that unhappy country. If the British insist on forcing the return of the king, there will be civil war; the left has been driven to despair and is ready to fight to the last man. In one of the most shameful episodes of our time even food has played a role: political affiliation is the yardstick by which supplies are being distributed to the hungry Greeks; those who oppose the British plan are denied relief. In a Europe seething with unsettled conflicts, the effect of a civil war would not stop at the Greek frontier. London may one day have reason to regret its obstinate refusal to postpone the elections.

Spain is close to the heart of Saillant, who lived side by side with the Spanish Republican refugees through the unforgettable days of the occupation. He told me how veterans of the Spanish war, some no more than twenty-five years old, taught the French *maquisards* the manual of arms. Taking from his desk two big portfolios with the word "Franco" written across the covers in his own vigorous hand, he showed me the recent correspondence, some of it confidential, sent to various countries for the purpose of starting a campaign against the Franco regime. He had received replies from all over the world: a cable from Montevideo informing

him of a general strike to protest against Uruguay's continued relations with Franco; a resolution by the New Zealand Federation of Labor dated February 12, 1946, "requesting the government of New Zealand to express its disapproval of the continued recognition by the British government and the United Nations Organization of the fascist-Franco regime in Spain" (New Zealand never recognized Franco); a cable from Reykjavik stating that "the Icelandic workers are ready to refuse to load or unload all Spanish goods to or from Iceland." Dozens of telegrams and letters from the five continents; hundreds of letters from all parts of France.

In this campaign the W. F. T. U. is acting not as chief promoter but rather as guide for the spontaneous action coming from below. Jules Moch, French Minister of Transportation, told me: "Some people have asked who was the fool in the Council of Ministers who proposed that France close the Spanish border. It was I. But when I proposed it, the transport workers' union had already decided not to let a single train, not a single car, not even a telegram, cross the frontier. In that situation it was best for the government, which itself favored strong action by the democratic nations against the Spanish fascist regime, to look as if it were taking the lead rather than following the trade unions."

It would be to underestimate the significance of the movement for Republican Spain to view it only as a demonstration of sympathy and solidarity. It is much more than that. The most conscious and politically enlightened workers, those who best understand the nature of fascism, are terrified to find that less than ten months after the end of the war reaction has begun to grow again, to become day by day more insolent and aggressive. This is the dominant note of the report prepared by André Lucot and Louis Robert for the twenty-sixth congress of the C. G. T., which will be held in Paris on April 8-12. The report is a remarkable document which reviews the history of the World Federation of Trade Unions since its formation and sets down a program of action for the future. "In every country," it says, "the condition of the workers is precarious, often dramatically so. At the end of a long war against fascism we are now witnessing . . . a general strengthening of totalitarian methods." The report urges the W. F. T. U. to take the offensive in the economic and political fields and bluntly warns that hope in the new international will wane if the federation "limits itself to being simply a trade-union replica of the United Nations Organization." It proposes that the W. F. T. U. "establish a basic international wage expressed in real values," that wherever possible it press the campaign "for nationalization of the principal sources of wealth," and that it combat all chauvinist propaganda. Above all, the report concludes, the new international must maintain its independence: "Only a World Federation of Trade Unions free from government influence will be capable of the effort which the workers of the world expect from it."

Louis Saillant has a big job ahead of him. DEL VAYO

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

THE DEATH OF THE GODS

In peace tomorrow, when your slack hands weigh
Upon the causes; when the ores are rust,
And the oil laked under the mandates
Has puffed from the turbines; when the ash of life
Is earth that has forgotten the first human sun
Your wisdom found: O bringers of the fire,
When you have shipped our bones home from the bases
To those who think of us, not as we were
(Defiled, annihilated—the forgotten vessels
Of the wrath that formed us, of the murderous
Dull will that worked out its commandment, death
For the disobedient and for us, obedient);
When you have seen grief wither, death forgotten,
And dread and love, the witnesses of men,
Swallowed up in victory: you who determine
Men's last obedience, yourselves determined
In the first unjudged obedience of greed
And senseless power: you eternal States
Beneath whose shadows men have found the stars
And graves of men: O warring Deities,
Tomorrow when the rockets rise like stars
And earth is blazing with a thousand suns
That set up there within your realms a realm
Whose laws are oecumenical, whose life
Exacts from men a prior obedience—
Must you learn from your makers how to die?

RANDALL JARRELL

THE CONDITION OF MAN

BY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

HUMAN happiness cannot be measured. Sociology and politics are therefore sciences—so-called—whose practitioners can never know whether their theories are right or wrong, their experiments successes or failures. And since it is intolerable to admit this fact, they all embrace an obvious fallacy: all assume that some condition which is or seems to be measurable will serve as an accurate index of happiness. Not long before Pearl Harbor an American economist of repute remarked in conversation that the current German civilization was, after all, the highest ever reached in human history, and when asked how he arrived at that conclusion he replied with what was obviously an innocent sincerity, "Its per capita production is greater than any ever known before."

Unfortunately, even those to whom the fallacy of this economist is grossly palpable usually make some assumption of their own which is equally gratuitous; and though the identification of "prosperity" with the *summum bonum* is especially characteristic of our times, other unverifiable identifications are simultaneously current, and every age seems to

make some particular one peculiarly its own. "Liberty"—itself sometimes identified with national sovereignty and sometimes with personal freedom—had its heyday in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth century, and "democracy," somewhat redefined, is enjoying considerable popularity today despite the fact that Dr. Johnson, for example, was just as sure that the Great Scheme of Subordination fostered human happiness as any twentieth-century democrat is sure that the abolition of privilege is a first requisite. The case for "security" as against "liberty" can be debated endlessly, but the case for neither can ever be proved, any more than can that for the vine-covered cottage versus the stately mansions of the great. Even the man who can convince himself on the ground that he has tried both can know only what is true for him without knowing whether he himself is a typical or an aberrant human creature. There are no criteria for the Good Life, and even the Happy Life can be judged only by the man who lives it.

In a recent little book of only eighty-six pages, "Science, Liberty, and Peace" (Harper, \$1), Aldous Huxley states his case against the contemporary world and proposes a remedy. Technology, he says, has concentrated power as never before. Because a small group can control the physical world through the concentration of military force and can control the world of thought through a monopoly of the printing-press, man's slavery to the few is more hopeless than it has ever been. Hence the only hope lies in the possibility that technologists themselves will see the error of their ways and bend their efforts toward the decentralization of power, while at the same time the other members of the human race realize that what they really want is just that degree of material prosperity requisite to the full spiritual life of the individual. In barest outline this has of course been said many times before, but Mr. Huxley says it unusually well and with unusual conciseness. Perhaps it is only because we are fundamentally sympathetic with what he has to say that many readers besides myself may be perversely inclined to raise questions and doubt.

To many Victorians, we know, it seemed perfectly clear that the world was getting better and better. Looking back, it seems to us that their arguments were fallacious and their complacency mere fatuity. The myth of progress has, we say, been exploded. But are unfavorable comparisons between contemporary man and the man of some previous age any more scientific or convincing than those comparisons previously made to prove how much his condition had been improved? Advanced thinkers once thought that the state of the world was getting better and better. With at least equal unanimity advanced thinkers today believe that it is getting worse and worse. Will it seem to some future age that we have accepted a myth of deterioration as fatuously as our grandfathers accepted a myth of progress? We take more lives and we save more lives than ever were taken or saved before. Who can weigh our new dangers against our new

safeties? And if we talk a good deal about insecurity, who can know whether that is because we feel more or merely because we have come to expect less? It is easy to picture the delights of an age in which we never lived, but even Mr. Huxley, after he has made the assumption that we grow progressively less well off, seems so far to forget his own position as to point out in a different connection that though the thirteenth century has frequently appeared to historians as one of the most glorious periods in human history, the thoughtful men who lived in it "were unanimous—as Professor Coulton has shown—in regarding it as an age of peculiar wickedness and manifest degeneracy." Are the inequalities of contemporary life really greater, as he seems to assume, than those which prevailed during the Middle Ages?

Mr. Huxley, as readers of his previous books are aware, has a rather disconcerting habit of introducing into the weightiest discussions of eternal problems surprisingly solemn references to various cults and fads of the moment. It is not, therefore, too surprising to find a reference to Borsodi and home canning popping up in a discussion of how the rich full life may be regained for humanity, and one may let the incongruity pass in order to ask the general question whether or not the specialization of labor is any more obviously evil than our grandfathers considered it obviously good. Mr. Huxley is sure that the tendency to give the laborer more leisure while requiring of him more and more monotonous work during his hours of employment results in a net loss. But how can we tell whether it does or not? Given a choice between fifteen hours of handicraft a day and a forty-hour week on a production line, workers seem generally to choose the latter, and though that may not prove that the choice is a good one it certainly does not prove that it is bad.

"It is a highly significant fact that people love to talk about a war to end war, or a war to preserve democracy (which is the polar antithesis of militarism)." How true that is! But how completely Mr. Huxley fails to escape from a similar paradox. He is all for decentralization. He echoes as too well known for discussion or even quotation marks Lord Acton's famous "All power corrupts, etc." Yet he proposes that the representatives of science should form a central body and determine to use science for the purpose of achieving decentralization! What body could possibly exercise more power? Would that power corrupt it?

Mr. Huxley is of course a mystic. His preference for the small social unit and a system of production which permits varied activities to the individual easily passes over into a preference for the contemplative life. "Beyond these primary psychological needs lies man's spiritual need—the need, in theological language, to achieve his Final End, which is the unitive knowledge of ultimate Reality, the realization that Atman and Brahman are one, that the body is a temple of the Holy Ghost, that Tao or the Logos is at once transcendent and immanent." Now though this terminology is not one which I find very satisfactory, I imagine that I agree with him. But I wonder how likely it is that the mass of men could be led to recognize the desire for any such final end as the one he proposes or that his message could be made to have any social utility. He seems to assume, as I certainly do, that a political democracy fundamentally like that of the United States is the best sort of government we are likely to

achieve. But what a campaign slogan "the unitive knowledge of ultimate Reality" would make! How would you like to go to the polls on that? How well, for that matter, did the religion of Brahma work as a social force? Would we really prefer bathing in the Ganges to bathing in one of those tubs whose ubiquity Europe has made a reproach to us?

Thoreau once remarked that social health was much like individual health. The best body, he said, is one whose owner is not aware of it, and similarly the best government would be one that no one ever had to think about. Perhaps such complete health never existed in any society, but two states of ill health (or hypochondria!) are readily discernible. In the first, there is a general awareness that something is wrong and a hope that something may be done about it. At the onset of the second there occurs what Gilbert Murray called a failure of nerve, and the concern of every thoughtful man becomes how he can save his own soul in a world which obviously is beyond saving. It is at this stage, of course, that salvation religions flourish and that saints and sages replace lawgivers and leaders. Mr. Huxley seems to be a man who is making a valiant effort to keep his thought on a political level, to find some way of saving, not merely some men, but mankind. The fact, nevertheless, remains that contemplation is not likely to be a final end for more than a few.

The World from Moscow

AMERICAN-RUSSIAN RIVALRY IN THE FAR EAST.

By Edward H. Zabriskie. University of Pennsylvania Press. \$3.50.

SOVIET FAR EASTERN POLICY, 1931-1945. By Harriet L. Moore. Princeton University Press. \$2.50.

U. S. S. R. FOREIGN POLICY. By Victor A. Yakhontoff. Coward-McCann. \$3.50.

THE cold breath of an unhappy past" sighs through these three volumes like a threnody for mankind. For if history is a record of the endless attempts by human beings to compose their differences, then what is recent history but the melancholy necrology of those attempts?

The three books survey the relations which have obtained during the past century between Russia and the rest of the world. The story can be started in Professor Zabriskie's able volume, continued in Harriet Moore's superb study of Far Eastern stresses and strains since 1931, and concluded with Mr. Yakhontoff's account of Soviet foreign policy from the October revolution to the present. Each book is excellently documented. Each is a treasure house of information on the specific period covered. But each leaves the reader, particularly in this graceless spring of 1946, with a feeling very close to despair.

It has been more often true in history that the flag has followed trade than that trade, in the old saying, has followed the flag. As Professor Zabriskie reminds us, even before Washington's famous warning against foreign entanglements, "American captains were at home in the ports of China, Java, Sumatra, Siam, India, the Philippines, and the Ile de France." And where the captains led, American business men and, often, American troops followed.

American policy in the Far East early became what it has

remained ever since: to check Russian expansion into China by way of Manchuria. As long ago as 1855 the United States Commissioner to China, Humphrey Marshall, wrote in a report to Secretary of State Marcy: "I think that almost any sacrifice should be made to keep Russia from spreading her Pacific boundary, and to avoid her coming directly to interference in Chinese domestic affairs."

American annexation of the Philippines confirmed this line by committing the United States to a permanent involvement in the Orient. And the unavoidable clash with Russia came, as Professor Zabriskie relates, when Theodore Roosevelt lent virtually open support to Japan in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904. Linked with the policy of boosting Japan was the Open Door policy. But neither worked, even though both were supported by American dollars. As Professor Zabriskie writes, "The Open Door policy . . . became with the passing of time a veritable pretext for intervention [in China]." The end of an era came just before World War I with America's financial retreat from China, partially at least as a result of the Russo-Japanese rapprochement that followed the Portsmouth treaty.

The story of Russia in the Far East is continued by Harriet Moore, who picks up the trail in 1931. By that time the young Soviet government had drawn to itself economic, military, and spiritual strength. But as "Soviet Far Eastern Policy, 1931-1945" shows, not until the late 1930's were the Russians really able to stand up to Japanese aggression.

Relying almost entirely on Soviet sources, many of them now available in English for the first time, Miss Moore outlines Russia's difficult position, squeezed as it was between fascist aggression in Europe and Japanese imperialism in Asia. The failure of the League and its Lytton Commission to deal firmly with the Manchurian situation in 1931 confirmed Moscow's worst fears concerning the will to resist of the Western nations. Russia saw the Tangku truce ended at the imperious will of Tokyo in 1937 with scarcely a gesture of real defiance from anyone save the pillaged Chinese themselves. And as Japanese successes followed one another, Japanese sword-rattling sounded like thunder in the East. In 1938 the Amur Islands incident was a gauge of the rapidly worsening relations between Russia and Japan. Russia finally took a military stand in the fighting around Lake

Hasan and, the year after (1939), in the full-scale battles which flared up along the Manchurian border. However, both sides had to pull in their horns somewhat when war erupted in Europe. The Soviets' diplomatic retreat, pointed up in their subsequent non-aggression pact with Japan, fooled many into thinking that Russia had actually come to terms with its historic enemy. But even had that been Moscow's wish, the facts of geography dictated an eventual military showdown. It came, as it had to, in the summer of 1945 and furnishes a closing page for Miss Moore's study.

Mr. Yakhontoff's book, though it offers little that is new, serves as a commentary which enables the reader to coordinate the findings of Moore and Zabriskie with the broader facts of worldwide Soviet foreign policy. It is a good, if partisan, piece of work.

Any consideration of the Russian question leads one to the discomfiting conclusion that the gift of seeing ourselves as others see us is still as rare as it ever was. And yet, without that gift, how can we possibly expect lasting peace? The way the world looks from Moscow is the only real determinant of Russian policy, just as the way Russia looks from Whitehall or Pennsylvania Avenue is the only real determinant of Anglo-American policy. Neither view is steady nor is it whole—which explains the current and dangerous tension in the affairs of a world that revolves not on one but on two mighty axes.

To expect broader vision in our time is perhaps naive, but some solution must be found. The only one that seems feasible is a cards-on-the-table admission by all the great powers of their maximum and final aims, and an attempt by the UNO to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of those countries which, unsatisfied, will unquestionably resort to war.

In such a balancing of the books, an enlightened public opinion will be essential. These three books could contribute to that enlightenment.

DENIS PLIMMER

BRIEFER COMMENT

Memoirs of Viscount Samuel

BORN OF A WEALTHY Jewish family long settled in England, Herbert Samuel decided while still at Oxford to make a career in politics, and he became a parliamentary candidate as soon as he graduated. Canvassing for a relative in the London slums had already made him a reformer, and as his memoirs, "Grooves of Change" (Bobbs-Merrill, \$3.75), show, a reforming liberal he has remained through all the vicissitudes his country has experienced during his lifetime. That is to say, he has always maintained a careful balance between his real sympathy for the under-dog and his abhorrence of violent change.

From 1906 until 1914—the fruitful Indian summer of the British Liberal Party—Samuel held several important Cabinet posts and was an active promoter of social legislation. After the First World War he spent five years in Palestine as High Commissioner. On his return he headed a royal commission on the coal industry, acted as mediator in the general strike of 1926, worked hard but without conspicuous success to revivify his party. The political crisis of 1931 saw him in office

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as a member of the MacDonald National Government, but he resigned the next year, unable to stomach the protectionist policies of his Tory colleagues. In 1935 he became Viscount Samuel, retiring to the House of Lords and the status of a respected elder statesman.

As this summary indicates, Viscount Samuel has spent a long life on the inside of British politics and could have given, had he wished, much assistance to future historians. Unfortunately, when he approaches the brink of revelation he nearly always steps back. He does, however, throw some fresh light on the genesis of the Balfour Declaration, for which he helped to pave the way. And he contributes some new facts about the 1931 crisis, when Ramsay MacDonald torpedoed the Labor Party to become the pliant prisoner of the Tories.

Viscount Samuel is as reticent about his private life as he is about public affairs. He confesses to an early loss of faith, but he remained a conforming member of his community and thus, since Disraeli had been baptized as a child, was the first Jew in a full sense to become a British Cabinet minister. Nevertheless, he presents a far better example of successful assimilation than Dizzy. In his faults and virtues, in his instincts, mannerisms, modes of thought, he is much more the eternal Englishman than "the eternal Jew."

KEITH HUTCHISON

Out of Bohemia

PEGGY GUGGENHEIM has such a steadfast incapacity for literary expression that one almost hesitates to hold her responsible for what appears in her autobiography, "Out of This Century" (Dial, \$3.75). The most charitable way of looking at her astonishing lack of sensibility would be to assume that her limited vocabulary and primitive style have made her record of her life far less interesting than that life was in actuality. Though she seems to wish to give the impression of responsiveness and vitality, it is the poverty of emotion that strikes one throughout these pages. Her insensibility is at times so great that her book appears to be an unconsciously comic imitation of a first-grade reader. In speaking of her travels she writes, "The people of Egypt are mostly Arabs, and they are very poor." Later we learn that "the British ruling class are pretty awful in their colonies." These quiet observations mean nothing in themselves since Miss Guggenheim need hardly be expected to show any particular sensitivity to geography and government, but the unfortunate truth is that she deals with herself and her extensive relations with artists and Bohemian life in much the same primer fashion. Intellectuals, formidable lovers, and talented friends do not inspire her to any richer statements of feeling than do the Arabs. Even the death of her beloved sister brings forth such feeble comment as, "I started to cry and couldn't stop for weeks. All I wanted was flowers." At every turn it is the author's slumbering mind and soul that shock the reader rather than the amorous incidents she is so fond of describing.

In this cave-dweller's atmosphere it is not surprising that the few references Miss Guggenheim makes to the grim facts of this century—strikes, the war, the plight of the Jews, the refugees on the roads of Europe—should be quite blood-

curdling in their inadequacy. But perhaps the most depressing thing in the book is that the author, a not inconsiderable patron of art, seems to be as hopelessly mute on painting as on other subjects and must confine herself to epithets like a "marvelous Klee" and an "incredible Miro."

As a record of the kind of life many talented people lived in the twenties and thirties the book is valueless. Our old friend Mabel Dodge Luhan becomes something of a genius by comparison. It is an unfortunate thing that the uncreative who associate with artists seem to write their memoirs more frequently than the artists themselves.

ELIZABETH HARDWICK

Britain in World Trade

"GREAT BRITAIN IN THE WORLD ECONOMY" by Alfred Edward Kahn (Columbia, \$4) is a thoroughly documented study of Great Britain's place in world trade in the period between wars, 1919-39, with some backward glances at the situation prior to 1914 and a few pages of analysis of what may be Britain's position in the coming years. As a source of information about balance of payments, which are analyzed by country and by commodity, the study is invaluable for its statistical data. If one wishes to find out readily what has been happening to Britain's exports of coal, or to its financial relations with the dominions and the colonies, which industries have declined and which have expanded, one has only to consult this book. Besides this statistical information, there is also a thorough study of the effects of



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certain government policies, such as the return to the gold standard, and of general world economic trends in the period studied. All these elements are integrated into a study of secular and cyclical trends, with the result that we get a full picture of British foreign trade. Incidentally, though the trend has been generally downward, the situation is by no means so catastrophic as some have supposed, and there have even been elements of improvement.

The book, as Mr. Kahn tells us in his Preface, was originally a doctoral dissertation, and though he has completely rewritten it, it still bears some of the stigmata of its origin. There is a certain cautious tone about every statement, as if the author had had his reading committee always in mind. The last thirty-four pages consist of two chapters dealing with British Economy in Transition and the Position of Britain in the Post-War World. And while the book is primarily a study of the period between 1919 and 1939, and therefore largely historical, one cannot but regret that, with the background so admirably filled in, Mr. Kahn did not venture to analyze more fully than he has the lessons most of the leading economists of Britain drew from the economic policies which obtained between wars, and their probable results in the years of readjustment just ahead. Certainly no one knows what will happen if, say, the United States adopts one policy and not another—or no consistent policy at all. But the British have these possibilities in mind and discuss them pretty freely. In the light of their past experiences, at least tentative predictions of their future plans can be made.

ETHEL M. THORNBURY

Zukunftsmusik of the World Community

IN PIRANDELLO'S PLAY we were shown Six Characters in Search of an Author. In "The International Law of the Future" (Columbia, \$2) we find 145 authors in search of the prospective law of nations. It is a scholarly book which offers in 167 pages the postulates, principles, and proposals arrived at in many meetings of American and Canadian judges, lawyers, professors, and other men of reputation, competence, and experience in international affairs. Whether their proposals will really become the international law of the future remains to be seen. The organization of the Community of States on a universal basis is highly desirable. However, the "premises of an effective legal order for the World of States," as set forth in Postulate Two, demand "continuous collaboration by the states to promote the common welfare of all peoples," a collaboration subject to international law, by which sovereignty would be limited (Postulate Three). And there are reasons to doubt the reality of these postulates. Like the rules of national law, those of international law presuppose a body of doctrine approved and accepted by those who are subject to its precepts. Such a body of doctrine does not exist, nor is it possible to ignore the essential differences between the internal structures of the various countries which these architects of the future hope to incorporate into the Community of States. The failure of the League and the difficulty which the UNO is facing certainly justify the cautious proviso that "the organization of the Community of States on a universal basis . . . depends upon conditions prevailing when the organization is to be

launched." The principles and proposals set forth are useful prolegomena to the happier age of mankind, but jurists, no matter how eminent they may be, are as little able to create the international law of the future as midwives to create the babies which they help to bring into the world.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

FICTION IN REVIEW

ADOLESCENCE is the theme of two enormously talented short novels, Carson McCullers's "The Member of the Wedding" (Houghton Mifflin, \$2.50) and Denton Welch's "In Youth Is Pleasure" (L. B. Fischer, \$2.50). Miss McCullers's book is about a twelve-year-old girl in Georgia; Mr. Welch's is about a fifteen-year-old boy in England. Both children are manifestly their authors' not very distant selves, and both books mirror this most anguished season of our growth against the most anguishing season of the child's year—summer, when the cessation of school throws a child back so completely upon its own incoherent resources and when the very physical world would seem to burn with an intensity of hopelessness. If only for their ability to recreate the child's sensations of summer, both novels are remarkable. Both Miss McCullers and Mr. Welch have powers of observation and recollection quite beyond the ordinary, and an equally extraordinary facility in translating remembered experience into language.

Miss McCullers, especially, can communicate almost more of the child's emotions of boredom and emptiness, of the stoppage of time, of the draining of all meaning from life at the same time that the air is so heavy with unformed meanings, than the reader can receive with equanimity. Indeed, it is with a certain relief, as at the lifting of the atmosphere after rain, that one turns from the Addams's kitchen in Georgia—from Frankie Addams's unmoving hours in the company of the colored maid, Berenice, and her six-year old cousin—to the English countryside of Mr. Welch's Orvil Pym. Then one realizes that the fresher air of "In Youth Is Pleasure" is perhaps less a matter of a difference in the physical climates of the two novels, or of a difference in their authors' temperaments, than of the difference in age between the two youthful protagonists. Orvil has lived three years longer than Frankie; in the interval between twelve and fifteen his impulses, however madly confused they may still be, have become at least less diffuse. He collects china, writes poems, has an interest in architecture; he has come to recognize his sexual desires and explore the possible avenues of their gratification. At the end of "The Member of the Wedding" we discover that Frankie, too, has begun slowly to move down the road Orvil has already covered. She has accommodated herself to the idea that she cannot be a part of her brother's marriage; now thirteen, she is "just mad about Michelangelo" and about her new girl-friend, and one suspects that if the kitchen knife still holds charms for her, she will at least not throw it around so carelessly.

But if both books have in common great gifts of perception and unusual powers of evocation, they also have in common, or partially so, failure as complete literary works, and the nature of the failure is suggested by the temptation

—even the necessity—put upon the reviewer to discuss them in immediate clinical rather than general literary terms. Any one writing about current fiction is of course constantly urged in this direction. The source of the temptation, however, is not, I think, the clinical character of the subject matter itself so much as the relation of the authors to their subject matter.

Both Miss McCullers and Mr. Welch seem to me to stand in a wrong relation to their stories, Mr. Welch more so than Miss McCullers. They are still too fully identified with their child protagonists; and what I mean by this can perhaps be best exemplified in a comparison between their novels, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, such widely differing studies of childhood as, say, "Huckleberry Finn," "Swann's Way," and Elizabeth Bowen's "The Death of the Heart." Granted that with each passing year we are being permitted a greater freedom of self-revelation in our literature and that even since the publication of "The Death of the Heart" the boundaries of reticence have considerably widened, it is still not merely a greater frankness but a significant new emotional-intellectual attitude that we note in Miss McCullers's book or Mr. Welch's. For in Miss Bowen's novel, as in Proust's or Mark Twain's, we are constantly aware of the adult through whose mind and emotions the recollection of childhood has had to be filtered; whereas, in Miss McCullers's novel or Mr. Welch's, it is the chief aesthetic point that there should be no such awareness of adult interference. Instead, the experience of childhood rolls from the pen with a smooth ease and lack of inhibition that can only be meant to convey that in recollection it has met none of the resistances that commonly attend our progress from youth to maturity.

This lack of inhibition is distinctly more pronounced in "In Youth Is Pleasure" than in "The Member of the Wedding." It is as if Orvil's feelings have translated themselves to paper quite as they presented themselves in adolescent reality. But surely a fifteen-year-old boy would hesitate to describe himself so forthrightly even in a private diary; the moment he would set about committing his feelings to paper he would wish to be superior to them. And behind this impulse to falsify experience, to give it a meaning—if you will—more acceptable to maturity, would lie the healthy impulse to be himself mature. Mr. Welch's too great pleasure in youth is, in fact, underscored by the conclusion of his novel, where Orvil—unlike Frankie, who by the end of her story makes a definite advance in growth—rather retrogresses even from the age of fifteen: "In Youth Is Pleasure" ends with its young hero happily screaming like a baby.

Clearly, to say that both Miss McCullers and Mr. Welch are, as authors, too close to the adolescent states of mind of their central characters is not to imply that they do not make choices or eliminations among remembered facts. Both writers are far too sensitive to literary style to be bald literalists; and style is in itself, of course, a form of maturity. But just as so many of our present-day novelists who deal with psychopathological subjects betray their overvaluation of the psychopathological by putting so little distance between themselves as authors and their sick subjects, just so both Miss McCullers and Mr. Welch betray the too high valuation they put upon the condition of childhood by refus-

ing to introduce a normal amount of mature judgment upon their child subjects.

I am struck by one thing more about Miss McCullers's and Mr. Welch's novels—the degree to which each of them states a special instead of a universal child case. It seems to me that in the precise though small measure that Miss McCullers is more willing than Mr. Welch to allow her protagonist growth, she achieves more of a generalization of childhood. Yet if we compare either of these pictures of a child to Miss Bowen's or Proust's or Mark Twain's picture of a child, we see how really particularized they both are. Despite all the truths about boyhood that a Proust or a Mark Twain may omit which Mr. Welch announces, there is of course infinitely more generalized "boy" in the young Proust or in Huck Finn than in Orvil Pym; and, similarly, there is much more generalized "girl" in the reticent Miss Bowen's little heroine than in the freer Miss McCullers's Frankie. Here, I suppose, is one of the interesting paradoxes of art—that it depends for so much of its truth upon falsehood. And not alone the falsehood of style but also the falsehood of the bringing to bear of intellect and ideal upon fact.

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Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

ANDREYEV'S "He Who Gets Slapped" was presented by the Theater Guild more than twenty years ago. At the Booth Theater the same organization is now offering it again, and those who remember the earlier production are going to be surprised both by what has happened to the play and by what has happened to them. No one, I think, would have called the first presentation "a good show," for the simple reason that it seemed obviously either more or less. But a good show—and I intend the favorable as well as the slightly condescending implications of the phrase—is exactly what one is getting at the Booth today.

Some part of the difference in the effect produced is no doubt due to a difference in the direction and the staging. As I remember it, the earlier version was presented in a somewhat abstract fashion, with so much stress on the supposed symbolism as to make the play a cloudy allegory in which the white-faced recipient of the slaps was supposed to represent the suffering soul of humanity. Even more important, perhaps, is the fact that a generation ago we took for granted the profundity of any work drawn from one of the lesser known literatures and assumed that if there was anything we did not quite understand the fault was necessarily with us. "He Who Gets Slapped" was Russian, and so we called it "very Russian"—which meant of course that it was searching and portentous, tragic and highly intellectual. Today Tyrone Guthrie, the new director, can take the play and utilize with a good deal of theatrical shrewdness what he actually finds there instead of trying to discover what somebody supposed he ought to.

In his hands the otherwise anonymous "He" of the title ceases to be—except in the most remote suggestion—an allegorical figure. He becomes instead primarily one particular betrayed husband who seeks the anonymity of life as a circus clown. The circus itself is not an allegory by means of which Andreyev, going Shakespeare one better, is permitted to say that all the world's a tanbark ring and all the men and women in it lion-tamers, beautiful bareback riders, or clowns who get slapped. Instead, it is merely a very picturesque milieu presenting an obvious opportunity to a clever designer like the one

who did the present production. And once you have deflated the pretensions of the play to this extent, its other elements fall easily into place to compose the romantic and sentimental melodramatic tragedy which "He Who Gets Slapped" really is. Of course the broken-hearted clown will fall hopelessly in love with the beautiful equestrienne whose rascally father has sold her to the wicked old baron, and of course the clown will save his beloved from a fate worse than death by poisoning both her and himself. When the baron shoots himself off stage and thus proves that even he knows finally, if too late, what love really is, nothing is any longer lacking to round out a bang-up piece whose effectiveness suggests the effectiveness of an Italian libretto and which is, as a matter of fact, almost as much like "Pagliacci" in mood and style as the resemblance between the two central characters would suggest. "Laugh, clown, laugh."

Having apparently accepted an attitude toward the play not very different from that which I have been trying to indicate as my own, the Guild has gone on to do a first-rate job of creating on the stage the effects of which romantic sentimental tragedy is capable. The visual aspects of the thing are admirably treated. The picturesque possibilities offered by the cluttered backstage of the circus and its motley crew of performers are realized most effectively. Indeed, the general liveliness of the action, combined with the eternal superficial effectiveness of the romantic themes, makes the whole what Shakespeare would have called "a very merry tragedy." Dennis King is quite acceptable as the clown, and Stella Adler is doubtless just what is called for in the solemnity of the roles—that of a lady lion-tamer who is tortured by the desire that the fiercest of her beasts should love her and whose discovery that she cannot inspire anything but fear in either men or animals is one of the relatively few dubious profundities which survive the present production. Susan Douglas, a young Czech girl new to our stage, is an appealing ingenue, but of all the performances I was most taken by that of another newcomer to New York, John Abbott, who plays the wicked father as a delightfully Dickensian rascal. I liked especially the moment when, enjoying an unaccustomed prosperity as the result of the bargain he has struck with the baron, he remembers just in time to open a cigarette case with a flourish instead of picking up a butt

from the floor. Yes, as I remarked at the beginning, "He Who Gets Slapped" is a good show.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE Monte Carlo Ballet Russe's further additions to its repertory are "The Night Shadow," a new work of Balanchine, with a score that Rieti made out of some music of Bellini, and scenery and costumes by Dorothea Tanning; and "Raymonda," a fifty-year-old work of Petipa, restaged and revised by Balanchine and Danilova, with the original music of Glazunov, and new scenery and costumes by Alexander Benois.

The story of "Raymonda," even with revisions, is one that an audience of today must take in the way that it takes some of the absurd old opera librettos—as the occasion, the scaffolding for the dancing that is the real substance of the work. And to someone with a love for dancing the Monte Carlo "Raymonda" offers Balanchine's beautiful orchestrations of the Petipa steps as he and Danilova have been able to recall them, the *corps de ballet's* execution of these formations with clarity, grace, and brilliance, and a number of dances in various styles by Danilova herself that are a breathtaking display of the entire range of her art. The person who cares about these will ignore not only the story but absurdities in the production like some of the scenery and costumes or the appearance and acting of Magallanes and Talin as the hero and villain; and the things that went wrong at the first performance for lack of the preparation sufficient for security.

In "The Night Shadow" too a story is the occasion for the usual series of dance formations and solos, including a group of divertissements. If not an absurd story that must be ignored, it is one that is of little consequence in itself—as little as the apples painted by Cézanne. But just as those apples were translated into the organized pictorial detail of a Cézanne still-life, so the story of "The Night Shadow"—of a poet at a ball, who falls in love with a coquette, later encounters and falls in love with a somnambulist, is betrayed by the jealous coquette to the somnambulist's husband, and is killed—is translated into a series of details that are new and exciting manifestations of Balanchine's dance invention in the service of his dramatic imagination, his fantasy, his wit. The details include the grotesquely

capering *pas de deux* of the two Black-amoores, among the amusing divertissements, charmingly done by Boris and Lindgren; the seductive and impassioned *pas de deux* of the coquette and the poet, superbly done by Tallchief with Magallanes. And they culminate in a supreme stroke of *fantaisie Balanchine*—the *pas de deux* of the poet's encounter with the somnambulist, in which his way first of expressing his wonder, then of attempting to establish contact with her mind, is to experiment with her moving body, to control its motion—to stop it, to send it now in this direction now in that, to spin it, to grasp the candle in her hand and swing her now this way now that. The episode has terrific impact—from its originality both as dance and as theater invention, from the sudden simplicity and quiet after all the animated intricacy, from Danilova's concentration and intensity in her exquisitely limpid flow of movement. The scenery and costumes and much of the music lend themselves well to Balanchine's purposes—the pleasantly horrible surrealist style of the costumes being by no means as disturbing as the occasional violent wrenching of Bellini's simple musical thought into modern changes of key.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

On Self-Determination

Dear Sirs: The discussion between Kingsley Martin and Max Lerner on The Sins of American Liberals in *The Nation* of March 2 is highly interesting and valuable. It focuses a brilliant light on the sins of British Socialists and progressives, who are as convinced as Winston Churchill that they were not called upon by destiny to preside over the dissolution of British imperialism.

Max Lerner is concerned with this basic issue, and so there is one aspect of Kingsley Martin's letter which he does not discuss.

Referring to the future of the Jews, Martin says: "It would have been better, in my view, if the Jews had been content to leaven the cultures of other nations, where they have always played a most distinguished role." True enough, he adds the phrase, "I well understand why they want a home of their own," but that is merely because of the Hitler holocaust, as he indicates clearly. Were it not for this psychopathic development of Jews caused by Hitler, the original position would require no qualifications. This passage is symptomatic of the basic fallacy of the "liberal" approach to the Jewish problem. It has learned nothing since the debates in the *Etats Généraux* which led to the emancipation of French Jewry in 1789.

At that time the theory was expounded that the granting of civic and political rights to Jews depended upon the willingness of Jews to assimilate. The conservative argued, "Do not give the Jews any rights; they won't assimilate." The liberal argued, "Do; they will."

The clarity of those days is today overlaid by a turgid phraseology, but the point of view, barring a few exceptions, has remained much the same. The run-of-the-mill liberal and the die-hard conservative on the Jewish question agree on this assumption—that human rights as far as Jews are concerned are a quid pro quo, to be granted only in return for the dissolution of Jews as a group.

Such reactionary groups as the American Council for Judaism and such liberals as Kingsley Martin both overlook the fact that whatever may be their own secret desires for Jews, there are Jews, millions of them, who are not content

to "leaven the cultures of other nations" and be kneaded to dust in the process. Some of them have been taught by anti-Semitism, others possess a strong cultural loyalty, while still others are motivated by religious considerations. But a democratic society is a travesty without the right of "spiritual self-determination" for all. I here register merely the existence of this point of view among millions of human beings who happen to be Jews. I might ask why the Jews alone should be expected to leaven the cultures of other nations.

It may be granted that there are many Jews, liberals and reactionaries alike (and they are alike on this question!), who wish personally to assimilate. That right is incontestable, but so is the right to meaningful group survival. Both are corollaries of this basic right of spiritual self-determination. Elementary justice demands that this right be accorded to all men, even to the Jewish people.

ROBERT GORDIS, President,
Rabbinical Assembly of America
New York, March 11

In Defense of the Arabs

Dear Sirs: An article entitled Middle Eastern Munich, by Eliahu Epstein, appeared in your issue of March 9. Mr. Epstein, as do other Zionists, indicts Haj Amin al Hussein, his cousin Jamal, Musa Alami, and other Arab leaders as "anti-British" and as "agents of Nazi aggression." Besides condemning these Arab leaders, Epstein casts reflections on the Arabs by stating that "slogans of Nazi philosophy made an infinitely stronger appeal to the Arab masses than the British policy of appeasement."

In fairness to Haj Amin, is it sufficient to make accusations against him without looking into the reasons which drove him into the arms of the Nazis? Haj Amin Hussein's conduct should be placed in the perspective of alliances in general. Haj Amin may be compared with the men of '76, who did not shrink from contracting a *mariage de convenance* with the enemies of their mother-country, the despotic race of the Bourbons. Jefferson and Franklin felt sure they were serving the genuine interests of liberty when they turned to the undemocratic French court for moral, financial, and military support against British tyranny. In making that strange alliance those American lovers of free-

dom were not subscribing to Bourbon despotism.

Nor was the alliance of the American colonies with France singular in history; all alliances are based on interest and expediency rather than principle. By way of illustration, may I just mention the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939 and the British-Russian-American alliances? Needless to say, Britain and America did not embrace communism when they joined forces with Russia during the recent war.

If it can be said that some Arab leaders accepted German assistance in their mortal struggle with Zionism, it does not follow that they fell in love with fascist ideology. The Arabs, on the contrary, are extremely democratic. Regimentation is foreign to their nature, and Nazi practices are abhorrent to their concepts of individual freedom.

We have the British and the Zionists to thank for Haj Amin's anti-British policy.

KHALIL TOTAH,

Executive Director, Institute of Arab American Affairs
New York, March 13

The Labor School

Dear Sirs: Increasingly, the veterans of World War II are taking advantage of their educational opportunities under the G. I. Bill of Rights. However, there is a great deal of confusion in their minds as to what constitutes education, and what they can expect from our secondary schools. Some of them might gain their greatest benefit from the kind of education which the California Labor School in San Francisco has to offer.

The California Labor School, now in its fifth year, is sponsored and supported by the labor unions, A. F. of L., C. I. O., and the Brotherhoods, in this area and by progressive individuals. It offers courses in labor organization and history, the social sciences, writing, and industrial art and design. As many as 2,500 people attend its classes every semester.

The California Labor School is the only labor school which, so far, has been recognized under the G. I. Bill of Rights. It is the only one in a position to offer its students, veterans and non-veterans alike, a full-time program.

Information about the school may be obtained by writing to Ned Kramer, registrar, or if you are a veteran, to Leon Alexander, Veterans' Director, California Labor School, 216 Market Street, San Francisco 11, California.

LEON ALEXANDER

San Francisco, March 7

For World Government

Dear Sirs: There can be no doubt that university and college students are thinking and talking about world government as the only solution for the present chaos in international affairs.

At the closing session of the recent conference held at Mount Holyoke College and attended by students from seventeen Eastern colleges, it was decided that strong support must be given to the campaign for world government. This resolution was adopted.

The forty-five members of the Inter-collegiate Conference "From UNO to World Government," held at Mount Holyoke College, March 1 and 2, agree by overwhelming majority to the following:

1. We advocate a world government as soon as possible, based on democratic principles which respect the integrity of the individual, and brought about by peaceful means.

2. We advocate that this world government shall represent a world sovereignty to replace existing national sovereignties.

3. We advocate the attainment of world government through the United Nations Organization so far as possible.

4. As the most advisable method of backing our belief, we support the furthering of knowledge concerning world government and the teaching of its necessity.

SYBIL SMART, Chairman

South Hadley, Mass., March 25

Free Enterprise in Tacoma

Dear Sirs: Long a reader and admirer of *The Nation*, I am taking the liberty of sending to you this vignette of present day "individual enterprise" and its fate where "big business" controls a city.

In August, 1945, two civic-minded artists conceived the idea of an Amusement Guide for Tacoma. No such thing had ever existed, and there was a need for it since the streets were thronged with men on leave from the ships in Commencement Bay and from Fort Lewis and Madigan Hospital.

Before the first copy went to press, the managers laid their plan before the Chamber of Commerce and the Better Business Bureau. It met no objection.

The folder was delivered in bundles to Fort Lewis, Madigan Hospital, and USO centers, and met with approval everywhere. Care was taken to keep it up to a high standard; every place was inspected before its ad was accepted; generous space was given to drives for the Red Cross and similar activities.

Then the Chamber of Commerce,

working through their man, Thad Stevens, suddenly decided to put out a similar sheet called *Hi-Life*. It was filled with filthy jokes and political ads, and was so cheap and vulgar that soon the commander at the fort refused permission for it to be delivered out there. The same was true at Madigan.

Then, one day, February 15, 1946, all the theaters and ballrooms withdrew their ads from the Guide. No one would give a reason for doing so; just said they were not giving "copy" to the Guide any more. Obviously, without them it was not an amusement guide at all, and could not pay for itself. Thus was the business wrecked, not by fair competition but by "big business," which controls the Chamber of Commerce. In this case it probably is the Weyerhaeuser timber interests.

Whether this outcome is typical of similar attempts to establish an "individual enterprise" I do not know; and I leave it to you what should be said about it.

LELIA H. GORETT

Tacoma, Wash., March 15

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Publishers wishing to utilize the special advantages offered by this feature issue for advertising of better books are urged to make space reservations as soon as possible. Deadlines: for space reservations, April 5th; for final OK's or complete plates, April 11. Publisher's advertising rate, \$200 per page. For information, phone BARclay 7-1066 or write.

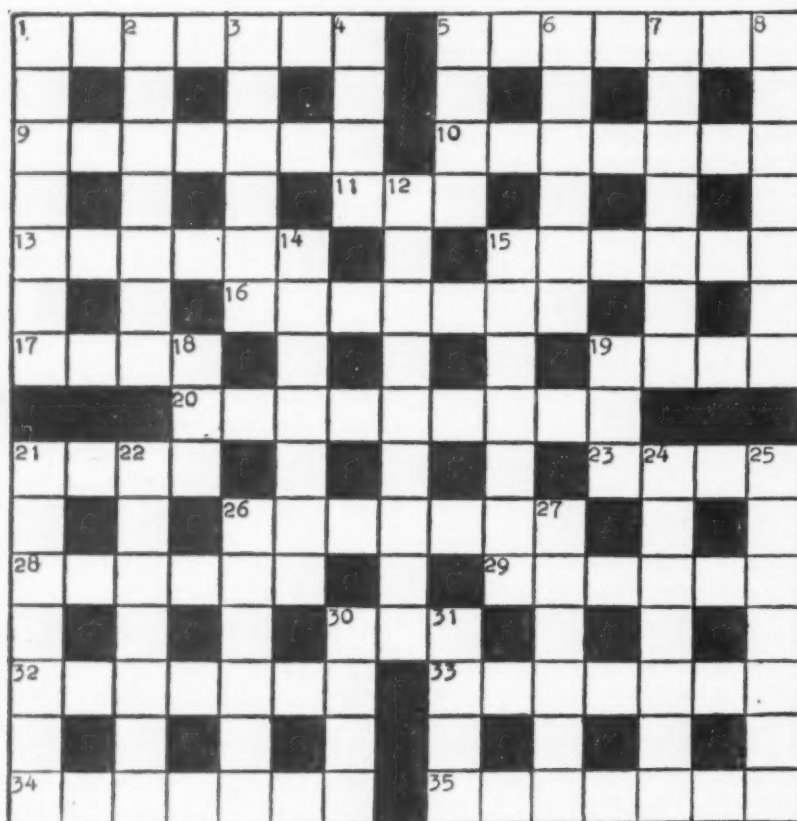
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Crossword Puzzle No. 155

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Not a blue plate—it's the wrong shade of color
- 5 It is an exaggeration, like the artist's tie (two words, 4 and 3)
- 9 One in a position to have first-hand information
- 10 Margery Allingham's whimsical detective
- 11 Where you can drive without a license
- 13 Where our men were involved in more than one kind of dust-up
- 15 Appeasement is the only remedy for this
- 16 L E G G
- 17 Where to go for eats
- 19 Potpourri
- 20 Hardly a suitable steed for the Iron Duke (two words, 4 and 5)
- 21 Foreign title that might be made for you, madam!
- 23 Under the influence
- 26 Melisande made him promise to stay with her
- 28 Operatic composer who wrote all his own libretti
- 29 Hamlet picks up his skull and apostrophizes it
- 30 "Egregiously an ---" (*Othello*)
- 32 Blinker on a horse's bridle
- 33 Might be part ape
- 34 Watched closely. Scot due, perhaps
- 35 Spanish girl full of learning

DOWN

- 1 Destroy
- 2 Dusty rewards
- 3 Prevail on
- 4 The hunted animal, not the beater

- 5 "Their discords sting through Burns and Moore, Like hedgehogs dressed in ---"
- 6 Halo
- 7 Name, apparently, of most Irish domestics
- 8 Breezy line for the farmer to take
- 12 The young emerge unscathed from these wrecked shelters
- 14 A Mr. Noel distributes the hand-outs
- 15 Common talk
- 18 A victory for neither side
- 19 The best thing between France and England, thought Douglas Jerrold
- 21 Water finders' divining rods
- 22 Not game (anag.)
- 24 Not what they usually do in the gallery
- 25 Bismarck and Pierre are their respective capitals
- 26 Not one of the big shots
- 27 Reddish-brown
- 30 Nice chap, Edmund, is he not? (hidden)
- 31 Potato spade?

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 154

ACROSS:—1 ENTERPRISE; 6 SCUM; 10 CORSAGE; 11 OVERMAN; 12 ENSHRINE; 13 IDRIS; 15 OVERT; 17 INVIOLEATE; 19 ENVISAGED; 21 ELSIE; 23 ERICA; 24 LOMBARDY; 27 TOILING; 28 CAMORRA; 29 RAGE; 30 EPIMENIDES.

DOWN:—1 ETCH; 2 TERENCE; 3 REACH; 4 RE-EDITING; 5 SNORE; 7 CAMBRIA; 8 MINISTERED; 9 SEMITONE; 14 LOVE LETTER; 16 TASMANIA; 18 VADE-MECUM; 20 VEILING; 22 SIDE-ROD; 24 LEG UP; 25 AMMON; 26 RAYS.

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